No Voice is Louder than the Voice of the Uprising

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- Cover photo: Neil Cassidy/Frontline
November 1988 demonstration in Sa'ir

Calls 1 - 47 of the United National Leadership of the Uprising in the Occupied Territories/State of Palestine.

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Introduction

Within a month of the outbreak of the uprising, call no. 1 was issued by the Palestinian nationalist forces. It was quickly followed by call no. 2, issued by the United National Leadership of the Intifada, signalling the stable functioning of a collective leadership representing the major Palestinian political forces (Fatah, PFLP, DFLP, Communist Party and, in the Gaza Strip, Islamic Jihad). Since then, calls have been issued weekly or biweekly, painting an ongoing picture of the uprising's development, and setting out political and action-oriented guidelines for the masses' daily struggle. Through the calls, one can trace how the uprising has built the political, social and militant bases for its own continuation and escalation towards freedom and independence. One can also discern the democratic, popular outlines of the independent Palestinian state declared by the Palestinian National Council in November 1988.

The most striking feature of the calls is their close connection with mass action. The calls' main function is to initiate, organize and coordinate the activities of the intifada on a national basis. A new type of action, such as a new step in civil disobedience, is first introduced generally; the following call makes the directive specific, while the next again prescribes organizational structures and measures to make any given action maximally effective and, in some cases, permanent. There is much evidence in the calls that the leadership is constantly evaluating experience, and singling out successful local initiatives to be applied throughout the occupied territories. This shows a very lively give-and-take relationship between the leadership, the popular committees and the masses at large. This is the background for the calls being so realistic; they are intimately tied to what the masses are able to accomplish at any given time. This is also the key to the masses' unswerving implementation of the directives of the calls, and one of the main reasons for the uprising's unprecedented success.

The calls reveal a real leadership of quality, close to the masses, understanding the importance of national unity, collective work and internal democracy, while at the same time managing to remain clandestine. The consistency of the political line and struggle program in the consecutive calls shows that this way of working is conducive to upholding a political line that is both correct and realistic, while maintaining national consensus on both the mass and organizational levels.

Politically, the calls uphold the basic principles of the Palestinian national struggle, while expressing a mature and concrete concept of political and diplomatic work. Most essentially, they reflect a firm grasp of the dialectics linking struggle and political gains. The calls clearly state that the struggle to enforce Palestinian rights, including statehood, is a long one, and that only the intifada's continued escalation can pressure Israel to make concessions, or motivate international forces to pressure Israel to this end.

Though in brief, the calls reveal a precise reading of the international constellation of forces. The Soviet Union is posited as having a leading role in efforts conducive to Palestinian rights and peace; the US is clearly identified as Israel's main backer, while the position of Western Europe/ the EEC is viewed as subject to positive change, relatively speaking, under the impact of the intifada. The calls note the significance of the three UN Security Council resolutions passed during the first half year of the uprising, censuring Israeli practices and referring, for the first time, to the occupied *Palestinian* territories.

The calls also express the Palestinian people's solidarity with other liberation struggles. They further reflect the uprising's democratic nature by carefully distinguishing in the Israeli society between the Jewish progressive, democratic and peace forces on the one hand, and the Zionist leadership, occupation forces and aggressive settlers on the other.

The uprising has posited the struggle of the masses under

occupation as the central dynamic in the process of liberating Palestine. This, however, implies no indifference on the part of the intifada to the Palestinian resistance and masses in exile, or the Arab world generally. Events affecting the Palestinian masses in Lebanon are regularly commented on. There is praise for any positive action in the Arab world, particularly mass demonstrations, and sustained demands that the Arab regimes honor their commitments (as decided at the Algiers Summit) to support the uprising with a firm political stand and material aid.

The calls do not spell out specific demands to the Arab masses, but rather posit the united struggle of the Palestinian resistance and Lebanese nationalists as a model for how to end the era of Camp David and open a new chapter of struggle in the region. The idea of advancing the Arab mass movement and support to the uprising is linked with the need for democracy in the Arab world, as seen in numerous calls for the release of political prisoners in Arab jails.

The United National Leadership's firmness in political line but flexibility in tactics is apparent throughout the calls. The second call sets out interim demands which are maintained but never confused with the ultimate goal of totally ending the occupation and establishing «a free Palestine - a united land, people and cause» (call no.4). Throughout, it is clear that there can be no compromise on the Palestinian people's right to repatriation, self-determination and an independent state, or on the PLO's representation and leadership. On this basis, the calls voiced the United National Leadership's rejection of the various political maneuvers and initiatives advanced by Israel, the US or reactionary Arab regimes, to abort the uprising. In the last few months, the emphasis has been on the Shamir plan, which was immediately rejected as an attempt to stave off genuine peace efforts, beautify the occupation and impose self-rule, accompanied by an escalation of the Israeli brutality against the intifada. Even more recently, it was specified that there

was no way to accept the ten points proposed by Mubarak of Egypt «unless they explicitly include the necessity of the PLO participating in the political process on an equal footing with all other concerned parties, and unless they define the ultimate goal of the political process in a way that corresponds to our people's legitimate demands, and their right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state» (call no. 46).

Some have incorrectly surmised that the revolution of the stones signified a negation of the armed struggle historically practiced by the Palestinian liberation movement. However, the contents of the calls show that the form of the uprising is determined by the concrete conditions, and not by the United National Leadership's having taken a principled stand against armed struggle. In fact, the calls urge the masses to use all means at their disposal in combatting the occupation, simultaneously demanding that the Arab states open their borders to the fighters of the Palestinian resistance.

The means of struggle whose progress is most clearly charted in the consecutive calls is civil disobedience, essentially defined as the masses' independence from the occupation authorities. From the beginning, there was emphasis on inflicting economic damage to the Israeli economy, to make the occupation unprofitable. This is pursued via general strikes and boycott of Israeli products, tax payment and the civil administration apparatus.

The other side of the boycott is building popular authority, bolstered by social and production cooperatives, as a prerequisite for sustaining and expanding civil disobedience. Reviewing the calls of the first year, one is struck by the transition from the first six months, when the predominant concern was what is not to be done (boycott, etc.), to the second half of the year, when the calls are more oriented towards what is to be done. The focus shifts to building the political, economic and social structures for the people to organize their own lives in every sphere, independent of the occupation's structures. While the first calls stress general

strikes to protest the occupation and its repression, by the summer, general strikes are called to build popular authority: consolidating the popular committees, rebuilding demolished homes, holding a national health day. This trend continued with the organization of popular education in the period of prolonged school closure, leading to beginning efforts to compile a whole new educational curriculum suitable for the generation which is building the independent Palestinian state.

From the beginning, the United National Leadership exhibited clear awareness that the strength of the uprising lies in the participation of the whole people. At the same time, specific tasks have been defined for different classes and sectors. Sizeable portions of the calls' directives relate to organizing people in specialized committees according to profession or social position. Call no. 2 assigns the leading role to the workers in view of the general strike which marked the first phase of the uprising, while also singling out for special mention the revolutionary role of the masses living in the refugee camps. Successive calls specify the duties of all - merchants, farmers, doctors, teachers, students, women, factory and property owners, etc.

It is this unprecedented mass organization, coupled with militant struggle, that brought the occupied territories to a state of semi-liberation within the first year of the uprising. The calls of the second year show great concern for how these trends can be developed towards materializing the Palestinian state.

Note: From call no. 3, each call begins with the same slogans and signature which we have omitted for reasons of space:
No voice is louder than the voice of the uprising.
No voice is louder than the voice of the people of Palestine, the people of the PLO.
signed: The PLO/United National Leadership of the Uprising in the occupied territories.

With the declaration of the Palestinian state in late 1988, the calls were signed: The PLO/United National Leadership of the Uprising in the State of Palestine.

All words in parentheses are our own explanatory notes, as are the footnotes.

Various versions of the calls have been circulated outside of occupied Palestine. In this book, we have taken care to translate the original texts as issued by the United National Leadership in the occupied territories.

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Call No. 1

- The Palestinian Nationalist Forces

January 8, 1988

We issue the following call:
- in order to continue our people's glorious uprising...
- due to the necessity of struggle and solidarity with our people everywhere...
- out of loyalty to our martyrs' sacred blood and our arrested brothers...
- to express our rejection of the repressive occupation policy exemplified in the policy of expulsions, mass arrests, curfews and house demolitions...
- in order to achieve more cohesion and solidarity with our revolution and heroic masses...
- abiding by the call of the PLO, the sole representative of our people, and
- due to the necessity of continuing the sacrificing and the heroic uprising...

All sectors of our heroic people everywhere must abide by the call for a general strike on January 11th, to continue until the evening of January 13th. The strike is to include all private and public commercial affairs, Palestinian workers and public transport. The general strike should be observed exactly. The strike slogan will be: Down with occupation - Long live free Arab Palestine.

To our brothers, the workers:

Your abiding by the work boycott will be a real support to the glorious uprising, an act of loyalty to our martyrs' sacred blood and a support to our demand for our prisoners' freedom and the cancellation of expulsion orders.

To our brothers, the owners of commercial stores and groceries:

You must observe totally the general strike days. Your past

observance of the strike was the most marvelous example of solidarity and sacrifice for the sake of making successful the stance of our heroic people. We shall do our best to protect the interests of honorable merchants against the revenge of the occupiers, and we warn against listening to the occupation's hirelings who try to make you open your stores. We promise to punish soon certain treacherous merchants, and to unite to achieve victory.

To our brothers, the owners of taxis and taxi offices:

We will never forget your excellent, honorable stand supporting and enacting the general strike on the day of Palestinian steadfastness. We have great hope that you will support and make successful this general strike...

We warn some bus companies that they will be exposed to revolutionary punishment if they don't abide by this call.

To our brothers, the doctors and pharmacists:

You must be on alert to help the injured. Doctors must clearly mark special signs on their cars.

WARNING

We warn that moving on the roads will not be safe because of the procedures to be taken to consolidate the comprehensive strike; slippery substances will be poured on all streets; checkpoints and strike forces will be positioned everywhere in our occupied homeland.

To our heroic people:

In the days preceding the strike days, you must make ready all the necessities for these days.

CIRCULAR

Militants and brothers, members of popular committees at the different work sites should help our people however possible, especially the needy families. The strike forces and groups

of the popular uprising have to abide exactly by their existing work programs.

Together, hand in hand, we repeat loudly: Down with occupation.
Long live free Arab Palestine.

Call No.2

- The United National Leadership for Escalation of the Uprising in the Occupied Territories January 10, 1988.

No voice is louder than the voice of the uprising.

To the masses of our people:
To the people of martyrs, the descendents of Al Qassam, the brothers and comrades of Abu Sharar, Khalid Nazal and Kanafani;[1] and to the people of the uprising which has roots in the homeland extending back to 1936, and which escalated dramatically in the face of the fascist occupation, in order to burn the land under the feet of the cowardly generals and soldiers...
To the heroes of the war of stones and molotovs:

We call for escalation of the glorious uprising of our people, in loyalty to the blood of our martyrs. We call for deepening the revolutionary essence displayed by our people in (the camps of) Jabalia, Balata, Askar, Mughazi, Bureij, Qalandiya, Am'ari, Rafah, Khan Younis, Shatta, Tul'karm and in every Palestinian camp, village and city that are united in the daily struggle. In this way, they defeat the suppression, the policies of expulsion, mass detention, poison gas, armoured vehicles and closing off cities and camps. We call for deepening the consistent and ultimate adherence to the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of our people, and for reaffirming the unified and militant resolutions of the Palestinian Central Council issued yesterday to support the brave popular uprising.

Based on this, the United National Leadership urges all popular and national working committees to escalate the victorious popular uprising and develop its forms via announcing a total general strike, accompanied by all forms of revolutionary escalation, from Monday,January llth, until Wednesday evening, January 13th. Friday, January 15th, is a day of unity, solidarity and prayers for the souls of the martyrs. Symbolic funerals and

powerful demonstrations should be organized for the immortality of the uprising's martyrs. Let us shout loudly with one voice: With our souls and blood, we will redeem the martyrs; we will redeem Palestine.

To the cubs[2] and youth of Palestine, to the stonethrowers:

Surely the neofascists will be forced to recognize the realities which your uprising has imposed, clearly indicating the way towards national independence, and raising the Palestinian flag over the sacred walls of Jerusalem.

To the brave Palestinian working class:

Roll up your sleeves and boycott work on the total strike days in order to make the strike successful. Your vanguard role in the comprehensive uprising is the best retort to the revilement and threats of the enemy authorities, in order to defeat the racist policy and continued oppression. Your leading role affirms your loyalty to the blood of our people's martyrs, in order to force the occupation to repeal all expulsion orders and release the heroic prisoners.

To the brave, militant shopkeepers:

One of the most important slogans of the uprising is sustaining the struggle for the cancellation of tax decrees and measures. Therefore, you should keep up your participation in the uprising, side-by-side with all sectors of our people-workers, peasants, students and women, displaying the nationalist role which you have practiced to date. Accordingly, the people of the uprising will know how to protect the honest merchants, and when to punish severely anyone who follows the agents of the occupation authority.

To our peoples' brave sons, drivers, owners of bus companies and taxi offices:

Your nationalist stand was clear on the Day of Palestinian Steadfastness. We are sure that you are going to maintain your

stand during the three total strike days. However, we warn that anyone who tries to penetrate the consensus will find the uprising's cubs lying in wait for him.

The United National Leadership for Escalating the Uprising affirms the continuity of all forms of struggle under the PLO's banner until achieving our people's noble goals of return, self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state under its leadership. Accordingly, the United National Leadership urges all the brave masses on towards more struggle in order to achieve the uprising's direct and basic slogans which are:

- an end to the iron fist policy and the immediate repeal of the Emergency Laws and all deportation orders.
- forbidding the desecration of the holy places, and deporting the terrorist Sharon from the Old City of Jerusalem.
- withdrawal of the army from the cities, camps and villages, and forbidding its provocative practices and its opening fire on our unarmed people.
- dissolving the village, camp and municipal councils and committees appointed by the occupation authorities, and implementing democratic village and municipal elections in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.
- immediate release of all those detained during the uprising, and closure of the detention centers of Al Fara'a, Ansar II, Ansar III and Dhahiriya.
- repeal of the arbitrary taxes imposed on the merchants.
- stopping land confiscation, settlement-building and the settlers' provocations.
- ending raids and closures of mass, unionist and educational institutions: ending the occupation authorities' interference in their internal affairs.

To the masses of our people, heroes of the uprising and makers of Palestinian glory:

Let us close all streets to the occupation troops. Let us prevent the cowardly occupation troops from entering the camps and

main residential areas, by **putting up barricades** and burning tires. Let the Palestinian stones fall upon the heads of the occupation troops and agents. Let Palestinian flags wave from the minarets of the mosques, the spires of the churches, housetops, electricity poles and everywhere. Let us disobey the curfew orders which are or will be imposed, in order to defeat the siege imposed upon our people's camps.

To the people of martyrs, revolutionaries, cubs, youths, students, workers, peasants, women, elderly, religious people, the imams of the mosques, all of our people:

Let us burn the land under the feet of the occupation, and let the world know that the volcano of the uprising ignited by the Palestinian people is not to be stopped until the establishment of an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital.

Escalate the victorious uprising of our people!
Down with the occupation!
Glory to our heroic people! Immortality to our martyrs!

1. Sheikh Izz Al Din Al Qassam organized armed cells in Palestine in the 1930s. Although he himself was martyred on November 12, 1935, in an encounter with British colonial troops, the armed groups he began are generally recognized as having sparked the 1936 - 39 revolt against the British Mandate and the Zionist invasion of Palestine. The other names are a reference to three Palestinian leaders assassinated by the Mossad: Majid Abu Sharar of Fatah, Khalid Nazal of DFLP and Ghassan Kanafani of PFLP.

2. Cubs are the youth organizations for the youngest Palestinian boys.

Call No. 3

- The PLO/United National Leadership of the Uprising
January 18, 1988

No voice is louder than the voice of the uprising.
No voice is louder than the voice of the people of Palestine, the people of the PLO.

To the masses of the Palestinian people: the masses of the stones and molotovs; soldiers of truth who are participating in the heroic uprising of our people:

Long live your strong arms, oh you heroes, workers, peasants, students, merchants and women. We salute you, cubs of Palestine, the future generation, builders of the independent Palestinian state. Long live the young leaders, the new generals of our people.

A salutation of honor and appreciation to this great people who created the most magnificent example of struggle, who responded to the call of duty, the call of the PLO, the call of the United National Leadership of the Uprising, which shook the ground under the occupation authorities' feet last week.

A salutation of pride to the resisting masses. A salutation of honor to the sacrifices which our generous people give in all fields. A salutation of challenge, steadfastness and pride in the role which the children of the stones and molotovs play in the history of our people and contemporary revolution.

A salutation for you, descendents of Qassam. A salutation to all those who face the war machine of the occupation soldiers in the alleys of the camps, villages and cities throughout our occupied homeland. Salutations to the wounded who were victorious over the repressive tools of Shamir, Sharon and Peres, and who emerged proud in the face of their war machine, armored vehicles, planes and poisonous gas bombs.

Great salutations, honor, glory and eternity to the martyrs of our people and uprising, to all those who irrigate the beloved land with their blood, raising banners of independence and freedom, those who are paving the way to victory and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO. We once again repeat: Long live your arms, oh you heroes in Sheikh Radwan, Kafr Naima, Rafat, Beitin, Jabalya and Qalqilya, in all camps, villages and everywhere. We reiterate our appreciation and pride in our masses who shout in a loud and unified voice:

With our souls and blood, we will redeem the martyrs,
With our souls and blood, we will redeem Palestine!

To our masses:

In order to continue and escalate the uprising, to defeat the occupation and achieve the slogans of the uprising, we call upon all the national and popular committees to escalate and develop the victorious popular uprising, by declaring a total strike from Tuesday morning, January 19th, until Friday evening, January 22nd. Let everyone remain in their homes on Wednesday and Thursday. On Friday, let there be prayers, symbolic funerals and popular demonstrations to eternalize the uprising's martyrs. Let church bells ring throughout the villages and cities of our occupied homeland.

To the heroic shopkeepers:

You have taken honorable militant positions facing the occupation authorities' daily oppression; you steadily challenge closure orders, crowbars, butcherous machinery and heavily armed soldiers; you sustain the commercial strike despite all the occupation authorities' measures. We salute you and your essential role in building our people's uprising and daily victories. We call upon you to continue to abide by the specified comprehensive strike despite the army concentration and measures. We ask you to also continue forming and expanding merchants' committees in every street, city,village and camp. We

ask you to prepare a **unified plan, to be adopted** nationally, for total abstention from paying the value added tax (VAT). Whatever the occupation authorities' threats and measures, they will not succeed in stopping you, nor our masses and national movement, from realizing this slogan. Boycotting the payment of taxes is an essential slogan of our people's heroic uprising.

To the masses of our people of all sectors and classes:

Let us begin today boycotting the Israeli goods for which an alternative is produced in our national projects and factories, specifically such products as chocolates, dairy items and cigarettes.

To the masses of the Palestinian working class:

With your massive, effective participation in the comprehensive strike, your iron arms succeeded in stopping the wheel of production in thousands of Israeli workshops, projects and factories. The vanguard role of the workers in the uprising is distinguished and honorable. Let your strikes in the Israeli projects escalate. The threat of the Zionist officials and factory owners will not frighten us. By our uprising we will not lose anything but the chains of oppression and exploitation imposed upon us. Let the Israeli wheel of production be paralyzed, injuring the Israeli economy. Deepening the Israeli economic crisis is one of the measures we use in order to regain our rights to repatriation, self-determination and an independent national state.

To the masses of heroic students:

You, who have troubled the occupation authorities for years, let us teach them a lesson they will never forget. Let us teach them that their policy of closing educational institutions (universities, institutes and schools) will not benefit them, but rather cause them more trouble, especially in these days when they have imposed the closure of all educational institutions. Let us mobilize the student masses from villages, camps and cities in the school of revolution and struggle. Take to the streets in

order to participate in shaking and burning the ground under the occupation authorities' feet. Therefore, let us organize and mobilize all the potentials of the students in the school of struggle in order to escalate the heroic uprising of our people.

To the heroic masses who are taxi or bus drivers, as well as owners of taxi companies and offices:

As in the former strikes, we ask you to completely stop traffic in all districts during strike days, except on Fridays. We ask you to cooperate with the national and popular committees in punishing the small number of drivers who did not respond to their call of duty.

To the doctors and health service personnel:

We ask you to constantly be on call and immediately join the health committees which organize medical aid campaigns for the camps and districts under siege. We ask all doctors, pharmacists, nurses and lab technicians to participate in the medical aid campaigns, due to the deteriorating health conditions and rampant disease in the camps and the occupied territories generally, as a result of sieges, starvation and the use of poisonous gases.

To the owners of medical supply factories and pharmacies:

We ask you to make a broad campaign of medical donations to the medical committees in order for them to give free treatment to the injured.

To the owners of national capital and the wealthy:

We ask you to make generous contributions of goods and money to the besieged camps and districts. The donations should be to the popular and national and supply committees in various locations.

To the academics and professionals:

The uprising needs efforts from each of you. You should participate in the popular and national committees, as well as the

specialized committees, and contribute effectively in the uprising. You can help by donating food and other aid, by your literary writing, by writing popular songs and slogans, by contributing to media campaigns, as well as organizing marches and sit-ins against the occupation policies.

The PLO and the leadership of the uprising are proud of the vast potentials our masses have displayed throughout their heroic uprising. We ask everyone to continue and escalate the uprising according to the specified tasks and slogans. We ask for all streets in the villages, camps and cities to be closed to prevent the transportation of soldiers. We also ask for the closure of the roads to the settlements in order to prevent the settlers' movement. Let the Palestinian flag be raised on every house, building, church and minaret.

Yes to our people's right to repatriation, self-determination and an independent national state.
Victory to our people's uprising - Down with the occupation.
Glory and eternity to our faithful martyrs.

Call No. 4

January 24, 1988

To the masses of our courageous Palestinian people:

Heroes of victory and stones, who write for Palestine the songs of love, repatriation and the end of injury and exile.. New Qassams and symbols of sacrifices and giving... Makers of a proud history, who write *Palestine* in the alleys and on the roofs of the houses. Palestine: Greet your knights coming from the sun, ten thousand of them and more who dress you in your wedding dress. The bridegroom is the martyr from Jabalia, Nablus, Kafr Nima and legendary South Lebanon... Palestine: Your sons, the PLO's army, are on the march to cut the chains and confront the Zionist military machine imported from the US.

People of great battles, hungry stomachs under siege, the leadership of the uprising is with you. The PLO and its leadership is with you. The world is with you. We forced the hostile West to declare: Israel is a racist entity. You made Peres, Rabin and Shamir lose their tempers in front of journalists.

Genuine Palestinian peasants, let every village and house rise up in the face of the tyrants. Let us burn the roads of the settlers who usurp our land, the land of our ancestors, of olives and wheat. Let us teach and remind the settler movement that we did not forget our confiscated culture. Let us declare our anger against them and write: Depart from our land, strangers, we want to till it.

Students who break through the barrier of terror, our conscious heroes, brothers and comrades on the path to victory, you transformed educational institutions into centers for launching the uprising which fills the whole plain with flames, illuminating the sky of Palestine and setting ablaze the streets under the foreign invaders' feet. You dig a trench in the revolutionary school, the vanguard PLO school whose knowledge is above all knowledge, greetings to you in *Jabal Al Nar* (Nablus, Jenin and Tul'karm), Al Karmel and Jerusalem.. Now, in Palestine's

streets, the political conspiracies to liquidate our people are falling apart; the enemies are recalculating their plans, and their agents are retreating. The voice of the uprising is raised to declare to the world repeatedly that the PLO's army is the guardian and the knight of Palestine, which kindly embraces its bleeding wound, hides its brave martyr under its wings from the Zionist enemy, so this martyr remains a torch giving light to all our nationalist masses.

Nationalists, masses of the uprising, you are struggling to conserve the blood of thousands of martyrs for the sake of the coming generations, to establish a free Palestine- a united land, people and cause. In order to continue the blessed uprising, create more confusion for the enemy, gain broad world support and materialize national unity, we call upon you to join us in the following:

1. Concentrating all energy on cultivating the land, achieving maximal self-sufficiency aimed at boycotting the enemy's goods.
2. Achieving the highest degree of popular solidarity and providing food supplies and necessities for the besieged camps, the poor and those families who have suffered harm.
3. Escalating the activities of the popular committees and the national merchants' committees in all localities, and continuing to execute the national program.
4. Building monuments to the martyrs at the site of their martyrdom, hanging their pictures in the national institutions and centers, and taking care of the wounded and prisoners' families.
5. Forming national merchants' committees to abstain from the unjust tax imposed by the occupation authorities.
6. Sunday and Monday, January 24th and 25th, are strike days. On January 25th, people should remain at home, stopping public and private transportation, and going out only in case of dire necessity. The sons of the uprising will be out to teach the enemy a severe lesson and to punish those who deviate from the national line and break the strike.

Sons of Palestine, let the unifying national work be our slogan

in the blazing battlefield. Let the national efforts of workers, students, merchants and drivers be united for escalating the fire of the uprising, because it is the gateway to our national honor and freedom, so that Palestine's flag may be hoisted over Jerusalem and history may witness the makers of glory.

A salute to the workers who paralyzed the Zionist economy which is breaking down. Blessings to the merchants who challenge the sabotage of the enemy army's crowbars. Full respect to all nationalists and all those who supported the camps and defeated the conspiracy of starvation. A thousand greetings to the Palestinian mother who bears children, demonstrates and makes sit-ins for the sake of Palestine.

Eternal glory to our faithful martyrs.
Victory is inevitable.

Call No. 5

January 30, 1988

To the masses of our Palestinian people; to our merchants, workers, peasants, students, children, women and elderly, to all sectors of our heroic people who participate in the uprising:

The United National Leadership salutes our people's uprising, and all those who are continuing and escalating the struggle in order to achieve its goals. These goals are our legitimate national rights, first and foremost, the right to repatriation, self-determination and an independent Palestinian state led by the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of our people wherever they may be. The United National Leadership calls upon the masses in the occupied territories to continue escalating the uprising against the hateful occupiers by daily taking to the streets. Children, women, youth, elderly, merchants, workers, teachers and employees, we ask you to join together in daily marches in all cities, camps and villages, chanting:

Long live the PLO.

Long live the uprising.

Revolution until victory.

We also call upon the masses of workers to consolidate the united stance and boycott work in Israeli factories and projects. We call the mothers, sisters and daughters to glory, honor and strength, and to work hand-in-hand.

You, our heroic students, who have just completed exams for your secondary school certificates, before you is the battlefield. You are called on to get a higher certificate, the one of the homeland and sacrifice. Brothers, be the soldiers of your homeland and the uprising which strikes the occupation soldiers and challenges their clubs, bombs and weapons.

To the masses of our heroic people:

Let us be united in our religious and national identity. We must be aware that we have national rights in our mosques and

churches. We can pray in them and toll the bells when we like. The Zionists must know the great holiness of Fridays and Sundays to our people. Let the mosques be transformed into a weapon of the heroic uprising.

The suspect role of the traitorous Jordanian regime is no secret to you. Today, it tries to exploit the great uprising and uses its tools for that purpose, first and foremost, *Al Nahar* newspaper and those in charge of it. We, from a position of honesty, demand that our heroic people boycott this newspaper which tries to falsify your people's will by serving Amman, and circulating the so-called loyalty petitions. We also call upon the employees and business contacts of *Al Nahar* to break all relations with it. We trust that our national institutions will not hesitate in serving our people in this capacity. Let us declare: «No to *Al Nahar* and the traitorous individuals in charge of it».

To the merchants, protectors of the uprising's flame:

You should continue the comprehensive commercial strike until achieving the goals of the uprising. In this aspect, we refer to the working committees in the occupied territories who in coordination with the popular and merchants' committees, have determined set hours (2-3) in which commercial stores are allowed to open, whether it be in the morning or afternoon, according to the needs of every district. This program applies except on the days declared by the United National Leadership as general strike days. The United National Leadership salutes your militant confrontation of the occupation soldiers' guns, clubs and gas bombs, as they open your stores by force, breaking the doors and burning them. We call on you to organize mass confrontations against these savage measures, and not to open your stores in the set strike hours. We reconfirm that our people and their victorious revolution are capable of protecting you, your stores and interests. The popular committees, workers and craftsmen, unions, as well as the national institutions and committees will repair all damage to commercial stores resulting from the oppressive Zionist methods.

The United National Leadership calls upon all merchants to prepare themselves to fight the battle of boycotting the payment of value added taxes soon. You should raise one slogan: «No to the occupation, no to the VAT». All of you should be prepared to burn the tax account books. The United National Leadership and your committees are organizing the battle every place in the occupied territories. We will declare the zero hour in a call soon.

The United National Leadership, while saluting the cooperation and the spirit of brotherhood among our people in the occupied territories, calls on merchants to observe the market, adhere to the official prices and confront anyone who considers monopolizing goods or exploiting his fellow citizens. We need further observance, further sacrifices and giving.

To the people of the uprising:

Let us chant in our demonstrations what daily reality has proven: «Our masses know no fear...Their stone has become a kalashnikov». Let us all take to the streets, students, workers, women, and peasants, in large demonstrations on Thursday, January 28th, and Saturday, January 30th. Let us meet in our mosques and churches on Friday, January 29th and Sunday, January 31st, and hold massive marches to express the continuation of the uprising, and the refusal of the occupation and its policy.

To the masses of our fighting people who are on the road to freedom and independence, the masses of stones and molotovs, of mosques and churches, and of the heroic PLO:

We call for further cooperation and solidarity against the forces of oppression and aggression. We ask for an escalation of our heroic uprising and revolution to confront the occupation soldiers and to foil the US conspiracies against our people.

Long live the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of our people.
Long live our heroic uprising.

Glory and victory to our heroic prisoners, the wounded and the martyrs.
Ours is an uprising until victory and liberation.

Call No. 6
February 3, 1988

To the masses of our people, those in revolt in the camps, villages and cities:

With your will, you have conquered the Zionist policy which is committed to the occupation. You have made your voice heard internationally. You have escalated the struggle process and seized the initiative from the Tel Aviv government, and put it on the defensive - politically besieged and internationally denounced. Daily, by your struggle, you pave the way towards victory, defeating the occupation and establishing an independent national state under the leadership of the PLO, our sole legitimate representative.

To our masses:

At this particular time, the conspiracies of US imperialism and its agents in the region are continuing, aiming to liquidate the uprising's achievements in order to save the Zionist occupation from its inevitable defeat and save Israel itself from its aggravated crisis. These conspiracies include capitulationist schemes like the Mubarak plan, initiated after contacts with the US, and the attempts of the US Secretary of State to cultivate alternatives to our legitimate leadership, from among appointed figures.

On behalf of our people who are paying dearly by their sacrifices: tens of sons and daughters martyred, thousands detained, hundreds wounded, and the exposure of our camps, villages and city quarters to the Zionist savage oppression... We assert our refusal of Mubarak's conspiracy, the attempts of the Jordanian regime and its allies and the imperialist envoy, Philip Habib. They are trying to encircle our legitimate leadership and impose upon it such conditions as the recognition of UN resolution 242. We assert the determination of our people and the masses of the blessed uprising to foil all conspiracies and expose

those who stand behind them. We reconfirm that the PLO is our sole, legitimate representative. If any outsiders try to represent the uprising and assign a suspicious leadership to give concessions and surrender, the people will wait for them and they will face failure.

Let all efforts, activities, forces, national and popular bodies, and committees join together in the struggle with one will to escalate the uprising, strengthen it and create the appropriate organizational framwork, such as committees and groups in every street, neighborhood, city, village and camp, to pave the way towards efficient implementation of civil disobedience. Civil disobedience means boycotting the enemy's apparatus economically and boycotting the payment of the imposed taxes. Therefore, let us reach the point of civil disobedience and consolidate the spirit of sacrifice and unified work. Let us activate the war of molotovs, stones and raising the flag. Civil disobedience will be a severe blow to the enemy, its economy and its robbery of our people's land and money; this artery should be cut. To prepare for this task, we call upon the masses of our workers to immediately stop working in Israeli settlements in the Palestinian West Bank and Gaza Strip. We also call upon those working in Israeli factories and institutions to abide by the general strikes, and be prepared to gradually declare a strike in all Israeli institutions and workplaces.

To our heroic people:

The United National Leadership of the Uprising salutes your heroism, sacrifices and battles you have fought in *Jabal Al Nar* and throughout the homeland; we assert the continuation of the struggle and call for the following:

1. Immediate resignation of appointed municipal councils, in order to hold democratic elections at the proper time.
2. Continuing to form merchants' committees to abstain from paying taxes, in order to force the Zionist occupation authorities to cancel their thievish taxes.

3. Abstaining from paying the heavy fines imposed by the Zionist courts on the detainees of the uprising.
4. Landlords lightening the burden on shopkeepers who rent from them, by not collecting rent due to the current situation.
5. Abiding by the boycott of *Al Nahar* as mentioned in the previous call.
6. Encouraging the national economy and boycotting the Israeli market and goods by the substitution of alternative national goods; practicing self-sufficiency and reducing consumption, to bolster our steadfastness.

To the masses of the glorious uprising:

Let us continue on the path of confrontation with demonstrations and marches next week, as well as mass sit-ins and burning tires in all streets. Let molotovs and the stones of the uprising be poured on the heads of the occupation soldiers. Let us cut all roads to the Israeli settlements. Let us hold mass prayers in mosques and churches, and declare a general strike on Sunday, February 7th, and Monday, February 8th, marking the second month of the uprising and the fall of the first martyrs.

Our people, while struggling to get rid of the occupation, are working to achieve the following goals which the enemy must yield to after it becomes convinced of the failure of its oppressive policies:
1. The army's withdrawal from the cities, quarters and roads and lifting the siege on the camps.
2. Stopping repression against the citizens; closing the jails in Ansar, Gaza, Al Fara and Al Dhahiriya; releasing all the detainees of the uprising and retracting all the sentences against them, such as imprisonment, fines, etc.
3. Annulling the British Emergency Laws.
4. Putting an end to violations of the sanctity of holy places, completely removing the border guards from Al Aqsa mosque, and ridding the sacred city of Jerusalem of the terrorist, Sharon.
5. Stopping interference in the media, unions, educational and other institutions.

6. Holding democratic municipal elections.

Our people in revolt in the occupied homeland are determined, following in the footsteps of our legitimate armed presence in Lebanon, to achieve their goals. A salute to our people within the «green line» (1948 occupied territories) and to the steadfast Golan Heights. We also salute with pride and appreciation the Lebanese nationalist masses, the demonstrations and rallies in Cairo, Morocco, Yarmouk Camp(Syria), Al Beka' and Al Wahdat camps(Jordan).

Glory to our people, the makers of the revolutionary battle, and to our faithful martyrs - the candles on the path to liberation.

We shall be victorious!

Call No. 7
February 14, 1988

To the masses of our heroic people, the people of sacrifice... the heroes of stones, molotovs, iron bars and knives:

We salute you, giants of the Palestinian dawn, who are steadily moving from victory to victory, removing all the occupation's dreams about the possibility of repressing and liquidating the uprising. With your heroic steadfastness and the continuity of your sacrifices, which increase every day and hour, your uprising has escalated to reach the sky and shake the base of the Zionist occupation. Your glorious uprising has, through its achievements, surpassed the limits of time and place in order to knock at the gates of freedom and independence. It opens the horizon of a bright future with inflexible determination, uniting the efforts of our people with those of the Arab and international nationalist and progressive forces, in the highest militant solidarity with our just cause, converging in the loudest cry: No to occupation, expulsion, subjugation and repression - Yes to return, self - determination and an independent state on the Palestinian national soil under the leadership of the PLO, our sole legitimate representative.

To the makers of victory, sons and daughters of an independent state:

Your victories are increasing, while the occupation's crisis is deepening as it faces failures, one after another. Accordingly, imperialism and its agents rise to help through a series of conspiracies and «initiatives» presented by the US, Egypt and Jordan. Developing and escalating the uprising is the strongest weapon for defeating these conspiracies. Therefore, the United National Leadership affirms the revolutionary Palestinian people's rejection of the conspiracy which the US and «Israel» try to impose with the help of some Arab parties, in a desperate attempt to abort the uprising. Such initiatives aim to establish

«civil» administration or «autonomy» as it is called by the US, or a condominium (joint administration) with the participation of some Arab parties in order to suppress the Palestinian people. They try to enforce this conspiracy under an international umbrella in a ceremonial meeting, or withdrawal from heavily populated areas which would be returned to the repressive police regimes. Alternately, they try to stop the uprising for a while until achieving their plan and containing the results of the popular uprising.

The United Leadership of the Uprising affirms that the popular revolution will defeat these conspiracies and whatever is concocted by Arab reaction, the US and the Israelis.

To the struggling masses...

With your determination you have destroyed the effectiveness of the methods of the fascist Zionist army; your stones have defeated the bullets; your molotovs have defeated the helicopters and the poisoned, asphyxiating gas of the enemy. After the defeat of the occupation army, the fascist Zionist enemy tries to push its aggressive settlers to terrify you and achieve what its troops couldn't do. Therefore, let the masses of the uprising declare an uncompromising war on the settlers and burn the land under the feet of the invaders. Let the masses in villages and camps close down the roads of the settlements, and rain stones and molotovs down on the heads of the cowardly settlers. Let us confront them day and night. Let us put stones on the housetops to be thrown on the settlers and their cars, as they try to raid our camps and villages at night. Let us be together for the continuation of revolutionary action which alone can defeat the iron fist policy in all its fascist forms, in preparation for ultimately defeating the occupation. The Nazi clubs are not more deadly than the bullets and bombs of planes and tanks, which you have defeated with revolutionary might and determination. So let us stand shoulder to shoulder under the banner of the PLO and its militant arm in the occupied territories, the United National Leadership of the Uprising. The United National Leadership

confirms the masses' determination to carry on the struggle in order to achieve the immediate and strategic goals of the uprising. We greet those members of the appointed municipal councils who resigned according to the demands of the uprising's masses. The United National Leadership urges the others to follow their colleagues' steps and resign immdiately before it is too late. The masses of the great uprising will know how to punish those who violate the national consensus. The United National Leadership calls on the media, and Arab and international liberation forces, to support our people's uprising, to expose the occupation's practices, and to publish our calls accurately.

To the people of martyrs and sacrifices, on whom the revolution depends:

The United National Leadership urges the uprising's masses, the Palestinian people, to abide by the following:

- Declaring an uncompromising war on the settlers and settlements.
- Continuing and escalating the uprising through demonstrations, stones and molotovs; boycotting work in Zionist settlements; and declaring an unceasing war of attrition on the occupation and its troops, causing them large human, political and economic losses, as well as loss of morale.
- Announcing Tuesday, February 16th, as a day of general strike and Palestinian rage against the occupation. Enormous demonstrations should be organized in the cities, camps and villages.

Raise the victorious banners of our people.
Together on the path of the uprising until defeating the occupation.
Glory to our people!
Immortality to our honorable martyrs on the way to liberation!
We shall be victorious!

Call No. 8
February 19, 1988

Masses of the revolution in the occupied homeland:

You, who are taking the sky by storm have overcome the repressive apparatus and clubs of the criminal, Rabin. You have sacrificed your blood and souls to create the dawn of freedom. You are causing the occupiers worldwide isolation and denunciation. The youths and martyrs have spit in the face of the enemy generals who kill babies and pregnant women. These generals are unveiling their hated faces before the eyes of the world, exposing the lie of the «oasis of democracy in the dictatorship of the East,» and showing the reality of Israeli suppression and racism.

The uprising has clearly revealed the stages for achieving victory. It is possible to defeat the occupiers by unity, determination, continuation and escalation, by intensifying pressure on the enemy and besieging it, under a united leadership, the PLO. Your enemy, its government, army and settlers, are in disarray. Grumbling and confusion are increasing in its ranks. Its losses are obvious. It loses millions of dollars daily because of the uprising and the workers' and merchants' strike. Its propaganda is trying to concentrate on our losses. Its wounded are in the hundreds in spite of its deadly weapons. It lost greatly in political terms and in the media. By our uprising and unity, we restored our cause's priority after a long period of obscurity. Go forward! Neither the conspirators nor the fascists, such as Sharon, Shamir, Rabin and Peres, are capable of burying your will. With the fall of every martyr, we approach the day of victory and seizing our just rights by defeating the occupation and establishing our independent state under the leadership of the PLO, our sole legitimate representative. We have no alternative but to escalate the uprising. The enemy is fatigued. We must not allow it to catch its breath.

To the masses of our militant people:

What is happening in our country gives hope for victory. Tighten the siege around all collaborators to cleanse our cities, villages and camps of those who are not with Palestine. The uprising is a flood that sweeps away all dirt and traitors. The Palestinian giant has risen and shall not yield as the rulers of Tel Aviv and their imperialist masters dream. We will not retreat. Our revolution shall not be aborted as Mubarak tried with his suspicious initiative, or as Murphy and Shultz tried with their deceitful project which our people reject, along with their suspicious visits.

Thus we warn you of any attempt to quell our uprising. We call upon our masses to besiege and defeat the capitulationists who agree with Rabin and the US secretary of state. We have to marginalize the agents of Jordan, like Freij (mayor of Bethlehem) and Shawa (mayor of Gaza, now deceased) and others who are poles of Amman and Arab reaction.

It is a long and rugged way, but it is the only safe way. Let the uprising escalate towards civil disobedience. Let us be our own masters. Let the authority of the United National Leadership, and the heroes of stones and molotovs, be the base. Let us boycott the enemy's apparatus, projects and goods as much as we can. Let us multiply its economic, political, human and moral losses, in order to make them more than its gains. Then the enemy will depart from our land. Let us return to our land and till it because it is a blessed resource for all. Many essentials can be provided from a piece of land in front of the house. Frugality will make your income last longer; it supports your steadfastness and lightens the weight of life under occupation. Vegetable gardening and keeping livestock can easily be done. Let us remember that the Vietnamese conquered US tyranny not only by guns, but also by such simple farms.

To the masses of our great people, the masses of the PLO:

The United National Leadership greets and supports you, and calls upon you to abide by the following:

1. Declaring a day of **rage in the face of Shultz,** US imperialism's envoy who carries a new plan of support to Zionism and conspiracy against our people. Let our response to his visit be more escalation and rejection.
2. Sunday, February 21st, is a day for nationalist rallies, sit-ins in churches and mosques, and marches.
3. Monday, February 22nd, is a day for national solidarity by making collective visits to the martyrs' graves and to the families of the wounded and prisoners, to express solidarity and aid them.
4. On Tuesday, February 23rd, there will be a hunger strike until 6 p.m. by those who are able; sit - ins should be organized at the headquarters of the Red Cross and Red Crescent, and at women's and nationalist organizations and other institutions.
5. Declaring a general strike on Wednesday and Thursday, February 24th and 25th; staying at home, stopping traffic and going out only in emergencies; let all streets be closed.
6. Friday, February 26th, is a day for mass demonstrations and rallies in the mosques and streets and on rooftops from 1-2 p.m. Let Palestinian flags be raised and national slogans be chanted:"Allahu Al Akbar(God is great); with our souls and blood, we will redeem Palestine; with our souls and blood, we will redeem the martyrs; Palestine is Arab; national unity."
7. Saturday, February 27th, is a day for breaking the enemy's curfews by holding mass rallies in the streets at midday. Let the neighboring districts support the masses in the besieged districts.
8. On Sunday and Monday, February 28th and 29th, we escalate the struggle in all forms. Our national institutions have to collect donations and distribute this in the needy districts.

To the masses of our people:

Consolidate your heroic uprising. Destroy all the occupation's chains. Strengthen your mutual solidarity and unity which has been forged in blood. Let us be ready and determined to continue and escalate the uprising in order to realize more vic-

tories. Let us be ready for developing our program to extract more gains from the enemies' camp.

Greetings to our angry masses, and glory to our martyrs.
Appreciation to our wounded and prisoners, and love to our mothers.
Militant greetings to the heroic Arab masses in the occupied Golan Heights, the mountain of steadfastness, blood and sacrifice.
Greetings to the Palestinian and Lebanese masses who continue to erode the enemy's arrogance on the heroic Lebanese land.
Be ready for the next step.
We pledge to march together on the path to victory.

Call No. 9
March 2, 1988

We pledge to escalate the popular uprising until the independent state.

Shultz! Return to the PLO-there is no other choice.

To our struggling people:

Your glorious uprising continues and your heroic confrontation of the occupying army and the cowardly settlers increases. You have cost them great losses while at the same time you have daily made new accomplishments. The Zionist slaughterer Rabin can only indirectly admit the failure. He has finally admitted that our people are fighting a popular war. The occupation, oh heroes, has been defeated and only the imperialist Americans are trying to save them from a sure defeat. The occupation has been defeated economically. The official figures about the direct losses in the stock exchange and in productive projects, as a result of our heroic workers' strike, has passed $2,000 million. The occupation has lost militarily. The military machine has been incapable to confront the stones, molotovs and the will of a rebelling people. Their soldiers and fascist settlers don't know what security means. Two-thirds of the soldiers who step on our homeland have to go to mental infirmaries for treatment.

You, the heroes of the uprising, are daily raising the cost of the occupation. You are increasing their losses. You are marching with confidence towards the establishment of your independent Palestinian state, led by our sole and legitimate representative, the PLO. Your steps don't know the meaning of retreat. This is your will, the will of the people of the uprising and the will of our leadership, the PLO, and its political and struggling wing, its natural organic extension in the occupied territories - the United National Leadership of the Uprising. This is the only will and the only decision - maker in our Palestinian land. We as a single and whole

body are burying together the American imperialist conspiracy. We are burying it from its birth. The [conspiracy's] hero Shultz will only reap failure in his attempt to sell the Camp David goods which our Palestinian people have rejected. The agents of the imperialists are hiding in their holes after the heroic uprising has defeated them. The occupiers and their supporters were defeated by the uprising.

From a position of daily struggle against the fascist occupiers, we take this opportunity to greet our brothers and sisters in the occupied Golan Heights. We greet their hands which inflicted painful blows to the occupation authorities. More power to you in your effort to end the occupation.

The United National Leadership calls on all the Arab countries, especially Syria, to correct relations with the PLO, the sole and legitimate representative of our heroic people. [We call on Syria] to start dialogue on the basis of the unified struggle against imperialism and Zionism, and on the basis of mutual respect and respect for [the PLO's] independent decisions.

To the heroes of the glorious uprising, to our vanguard students and academicians:

One of the pillars of Zionist policy is keeping our people ignorant and denying them the simplest rights that are engraved in international conventions and laws: the right of learning. The Israeli occupation authorities have thus closed all our educational institutions from colleges to schools. This policy has denied education to one-third of a million Palestinians.

The United National Leadership has decided to challenge this racist occupation law by breaking the order. [We] call on our students, teachers and educational institutions and administrations to challenge this law in a unified way and in all places, by organizing the educational process on a

nationalist basis; thereby you can defeat the policy of keeping our people ignorant. We also call on international institutions and organizations to support our people's struggle to defeat this policy.

To our merchants and technicians:

In compliance with the programs of the uprising and the comprehensive popular revolt, let us cut off the economic arteries of the occupiers. Let us announce it loud and clear. No to all forms of taxes. [The taxes] are the channel that has provided for the occupiers their repressive machines and invading army. We repeat that the battle of the taxes has begun, and all of you have to organise yourselves and your unified positions, and all the people of the uprising are with you. The accountants have an important role in this battle. Let March be the month in which our money, that was stolen from us in the past, stops flowing into the treasury of the occupiers. We are certain that your unity in refusing to pay taxes will produce one more defeat for the occupiers, to be added to the other defeats.

To our people:

In order to produce our goals from the uprising and regarding the boycott of Zionist products that we have an alternative to, and after discussions regarding many important issues, the United National Leadership has decided the following:

1. Keeping the same arrangement for opening shops between 2-3 hours daily as agreed to in every locality.
2. Our productive factories have to work at full capacity, with all the workers, so that we can produce the biggest amount of products, replacing the boycotted Zionist products. These factories have to strike only in the days that general strikes are called for by the United National Leadership-the PLO.
3. Industrial shops ouside the cities, like blacksmiths, gar-

ages, shops, etc., will open from the morning till 1 in the afternoon, except on full strike days.
4. Clinics and medical centres should be open all day.
5. Fines imposed on our arrested sons by the fascist Zionist military courts should not be paid.
6. We call on landlords to show respect to our heroic people by reaching agreements with tenants affected by the uprising, regarding the rent of the last three months.
7. We call on our people in villages, cities and camps to establish donation funds for financial and in kind donations, to be supervised by national and popular local committees. These funds will be used for those in need in that particular locality. We warn, however, that no donations should be given to people outside these committees which you have established yourselves.
8. We call for the revelation of any attempt to cause differences between our people as the enemy tries to do, like rumors and forged leaflets and burning cars.
9. Greetings to the people of the heroic Qabatiya who gave a lesson to the traitors of their people and their homeland.
10. We call on the employees of the civil administration and the police to resign immediately and to join their people in the popular uprising.

To the people of the independent state:

While saluting your struggle, we pledge to escalate the struggle with you until the occupation ends and our state is established under the leadership of the PLO. We call on the people of the uprising, our heroes everywhere, to abide by the following:
1. To work by all possible means to bring down the appointed municipalities and local village and refugee councils. They are the agents of the surrenderist condominium plan. These committees are now standing against our people since they have refused to accept the will of the people of the uprising. They missed the chance of resigning before it

was too late and have insisted on being traitors to the people and have instead served the occupation and its goals.
2. March 5th is the day of returning to the land and tilling it in large crowds.
3. March 6th is the day of the Palestinian flag. Palestinian flags should be raised in every place and outside every home. In demonstrations the flag should be raised. We call on the Arab nation and Palestinians everywhere to have solidarity demonstrations on this day, raising the Palestinian flag.
4. Teachers, students and administrations should go back to school, thereby breaking the closure order.
5. We call on our great people to limit their spending, to concentrate on essentials, and to help out the needy.
6. Escalating the war of attrition against the occupiers, and cutting off roads to settlements. Signs in Hebrew should be painted over with black paint.
7. Celebrating March 8th, Women's Day, by Palestinian women conducting demonstrations to give the best example of confronting the occupying army.
8. March 9th is the Martyrs' Day. It will be a general strike day. Everyone should go out in the streets on the occasion of the fourth month of the uprising and to remember the first wave of martyrs. This should be a new day of anger against the Zionists.
9. Demonstrations on Friday and Sunday in mosques and churches.

Glory to our martyrs.
Long live the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of our heroic people.
Down with the American liquidationist plans.
Together on the way to liberty and the independent Palestinian state, led by the PLO, our representative.

Note - anything published under the name of the Jordanian-

Palestinian Group is the making of the intelligence services; be careful.

We shall be victorious.

Call no. 10
March 11, 1988

To the masses of our militant people...the makers of glory:

Your victorious uprising, strong and solid, enters its 4th month. It is continuing, wave after wave, and sacrificing one contingent of martyrs after another, on the path to liberating Palestine and defeating the occupation. With this great heroism, it is destroying the myth of the «invincible army». Daily it is defeating the occupation on all levels - political, military, economic, informational and morally. It defeats the neo - fascists, Kissinger, Shultz and Shamir, who form one body, the enemy of the people, oppressing them and opposing their will.

Our comprehensive and tremendous uprising - the stones, molotovs and various means of popular struggle, first and foremost, the legitimate armed struggle against the occupiers - is drawing the picture of our homeland with the free Palestinian will. This will has foiled the conspiracy of Shultz who is still counting on time and bloody acts against our people and their inalienable rights. He has gone back because of the bright flame of the uprising leading to further isolation of the occupation.The Palestinian flood has drowned those who try to ignore the PLO, our sole legitimate representative. Due to the uprising, all the world has seen that US imperialism is our fiercest enemy and not a mediator. Shultz is touring the Arab capitals in place of Shamir. We have asserted to all the world that we and our leadership will not allow others to speak for us. We will not allow those Arab capitals, which are welcoming Shultz's shuttles and projects, to abort our uprising and revolution. Our rights cannot be begged from anybody. Rather, we have to extract them by force and by continuing the struggle. Along with you, we assert that there is no solution but the Palestinian solution. We welcome the convening of a fully empowered international conference with the participation of the five permanent members of the UN Secuurity Council and of a PLO delegation on an equal footing with the other parties.

The United National Leadership of the Uprising in the occupied territories, which is part of the PLO, highly appreciates the stance of our brothers in Algeria - the country of one million martyrs - towards the Arab silence. It also confirms the statement of the PLO Executive Committee issued on March 5th in Tunis, which expresses the hopes and aspirations of the Palestinian people in the occupied homeland and everywhere. This statement calls for convening an emergency Arab summit-a summit of the uprising and its martyrs - to support our people's just cause by all political, material and militant means. We highly appreciate the stands of all the militants and peace- and freedom - loving forces of the world and the stands of the democratic and progressive Jews, who have supported our long struggle for gaining our rights, first and foremost, our rights to repatriation, self - determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO, our sole legitimate representative. The unity of our people throughout our occupied homeland - in the Galilee, Triangle, Naqab (Negev), Gaza, West Bank is obvious proof of the unity of our destiny and struggle in all places. This is a source of pride for all the Palestinian people who have won the appreciation, admiration and respect of all the world for this sacred example of unified struggle.

To the masses of our militant people:

From your trenches based on your unified stand and consistent with the program of the comprehensive uprising which expresses your hopes and aspirations, the United National Leadership calls on you to execute the following decisions:

1- The unity of the masses of our people is the guarantee for maintaining and developing the achievements of our great uprising. We call for more unity and for decisively striking those who attempt to spoil these achievements by spreading rumors and distortions. We call for more formation of unified popular committees and strike forces, the militant arm of our comprehensive uprising.

2- We call on the masses in all districts to abide by the opening times for shops, fuel stations and street vendors, which is fixed at three hours daily according to the conditions of each district.
3- The call for the employees in the civil administration to resign applies to those working in the police and tax departments only. The masses of the uprising and the strike forces call on them to resign immediately or they will be punished. The United National Leadership and our people will aid those who resign.
4- We call again on our heroic masses not to pay taxes. Palestinian accountants must not deal with taxes. Our steadfast merchants should not hand over their tax accounts. The popular and merchants' committees will follow this matter, and the strike forces will punish those who do not respond to this call.
5- We call on our brave merchants and masses not to deal with the Israeli and foreign goods for which there are alternative local products, such as cigarettes, cleaning materials, sweets, dairy products and others. Our merchants have to deal with the local factories which should abide by serving our masses, not exploiting them, decreasing prices, not toying with workers' wages or work hours, and not dismissing workers. There are special bodies which will follow up these matters concerning the workers. We also call on the vegetable merchants to boycott the Israeli agricultural produce, and to buy local produce to secure the peasants' steadfastness. We call on all sectors, such as merchants, manufacturers, doctors, pharmacists, medical suppliers and lawyers, to lower their prices because this is the time of solidarity among all sectors of our people.
6- We call on our masses to alleviate the Zionists' pressure on the besieged districts by struggle and material and moral support, solidarity and donations. We must all rise up in a state of siege.
7- Tightening the masses' fist against the occupation army, settlers and the agents of Israel and Jordan. We are proud of our people who punish these agents and force them to repent in mosques, churches and in front of the popular committees.
8- Every district abides by the time of assembling at educational

institutions, which is determined as three hours daily, from morning until 11 a.m.
9- Conceening other things, we reaffirm what was mentioned in call no. 9 and the preceding calls.

Heroic masses of the uprising:

In this great month, during the uprising, we declare the following:
1- The days of the uprising are days of heroism and sacrifice for our people against the occupation, its settlers and agents.
2- March 14th is a day for Palestinian solidarity with the wounded and the prisoners of the uprising. We have to make sit-ins, visit their families and support them materially and morally.
3- Tuesday and Wednesday, March 15th and 16th, are days for general strike under the slogan:No alternative to an independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO, our sole legitimate representative. Let there be heroic days of ragc and marches.
4- March 21st is a day for commemorating the honorable Al Karamah battle.[1] Let it be a day of Palestinian honor- a day of hard clashes with the enemy.

Masses of the heroic PLO:

Greetings of glory and pride to the mothers, fathers, women, men, girls, flowers and cubs (the youth). Greeting to all our sacrificing generations. Greeting to our strike forces, to the militants and journalists all over the world who expose the truth of the enemy's fascist practices.

Glory and eternity to our faithful martyrs and those of the attack in Cyprus.[2].

Announcement: The Voice of the Revolution, Voice of the PLO, the radio station that transmits its program from Baghdad from 6: 30 p.m. until 9: 30 p.m., covers all the news of the uprising and the revolution, and has many surprises.

Let Kissinger and his followers go to hell!
We are victorious!

1. The battle of Al Karamah occurred in 1968. The Israeli army made an incursion into Jordan where it was faced by the Palestinian guerrilla fighters in a prolonged, heavy battle, and forced to withdraw.

2. This is a reference to the murder of three Palestinian cadres in Limassol, Cyprus, on February 14, 1988, by a car bomb engineered by the Mossad. The three martyrs were: Colonel Marwan Al Kayali of the Palestinian Revolution's Military Council, Lieutenant-Colonel Mohamed Sultan Al Tamimi, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mohamed Hassan Al Buhais.

Call No.11
The Land Day Call

March 19, 1988

To the masses of our struggling people:

Your sacrifices continue for the sake of your homeland, daily paving the way towards an independent state. With stones and molotovs, the masses are daily imposing their national will on the occupiers who stand helpless before the heroes who write their great people's history of freedom. In confusion, the enemy confronts the flaming uprising which burns the occupiers and their agents. See the murderer, Rabin, who imposes economic sanctions and starvation on our masses; he imposes a curfew on all our people in the Gaza Strip; he unsuccessfully tries to separate our people in the West Bank from those in the Gaza Strip. If this means anything, it means that the uprising has caused the occupiers a tremendous failure and a political dilemma. Everyday, the masses of the uprising challenge the enemy's measures of suppression, siege, starvation and enforced ignorance (by closing schools).

While the uprising has caused big changes on the international level, its continuation requires a united Arab effort to support our people in confronting the Zionist forces. Thus, the United National Leadership greatly appreciates President Shadli Ben Jadid's initiative to convene an urgent Arab summit for supporting the uprising.

The uprising calls upon the Arab kings and presidents to respond quickly and to adopt resolutions to support our people's struggle for regaining their inalienable national rights to repatriation, self - determination and an independent state under the leadership of the PLO, our sole legitimate representative. The summit should react strongly to the US Congress decision to close the PLO office at the UN. This decision reaffirms US imperialism's bias towards the Zionist entity.

The United National Leadership of the Uprising urgently appeals to President Hafez Al Assad to correct the relations between militant Syria and the PLO, because there is no reason for rifts between comrades in struggle against the enemies of our Arab nation.

To the masses of our people:

While continuing the struggle with you, the United National Leadership feels the daily achievements of the uprising, the increase in the popular sectors' participation in the uprising and their efficient response to our calls, such as the mass resignations of the Arab (Palestinian) policemen for the sake of the Palestinian national decision. The United National Leadership is confident that our masses are able to manage their own affairs, because the struggle elevates our collective sense of responsibility for the safety and security of our masses. Each of us has to watch himself at home, in the street and while driving, because the occupation authorities are trying to create chaos among the masses. The United National Leadership now asserts the following:

- We salute the merchants, professionals, artisans and everybody who has abstained from paying taxes. This decision challenges the occupation authorities' orders. We assert the necessity of organizing the masses of these sectors in committees in order to consolidate this national decision.
- We laud the heroic workers who were in the forefront, participating massively in the strikes, abstaining from work in Israeli projects and permanently stopping work in the settlements. We call upon local work places to employ as many of these workers as possible.
- We greatly appreciate the mass resignation of policemen, tax collectors and customs workers, and those employees in the civil administration in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip who have resigned.
- We assert the necessity of completing the formation of the popular committees in every city, village, camp and quarter, so

that these become the United National Leadership's arm everywhere in our homeland.

- We confirm the boycott of Zionist products. In order to consolidate this boycott, we assert the necessity of frugality and being prepared to continue the struggle for a long time. We also assert the necessity of developing self - sufficiency, such as by raising chickens and rabbits, by home gardening, sewing and weaving.
- Developing the means of solidarity with the families of those who have been martyred, wounded or detained because of the heroic uprising.
- Organizing the professional sector (academics, doctors, engineers, pharmacists, etc.), and carrying out acts of struggle such as marches, sit - ins and conferences, to expose and confront the occupation policy.
- Foiling the occupation authorities' attempts to break the strike program practiced by the merchants in their districts. We assert that the enemy's attempts shall fail, as did other attempts such as that to cut the relations between the masses and their United National Leadership.

The United National Leadership, the militant and political arm of the PLO, asserts its determination to continue the struggle until ousting the occupation. At the same time, we call upon our masses to do the following:

1. Continue to escalate demonstrations and the hurling of stones, molotovs and iron bars at the occupation soldiers and the cowardly settlers.
2. Thursday, March 24th, is a day of Palestinian challenge, a day for teaching as opposed to the occupiers' policy of enforced ingnorance and of turning learning centers into prisons for our people and headquarters for the Zionist army. Let the workers, students and their families go to academic institutions to break the occupation authorities' decisions by making marches and sit - ins; let the staff at these institutions take part in breaking these decisions. At the government and UNRWA schools in the Gaza Strip, which are not now included in the closure decision, let the

staff, teachers and students go to their schools from 8 to 11 a.m.
3. Friday and Sunday, March 25th and 27th, are days for prayer in mosques and churches for the souls of the martyrs of Land Day and the heroic uprising. Let there be symbolic funerals; raise the Palestinian flag and put wreaths on the martyrs' tombs.
4. Saturday, March 26th, is a day of struggle against the appointed councils of municipalities, villages and camps; organize demonstrations and marches to topple these committees; let the masses of the uprising severely punish those who refuse to resign immediately, deviating from the national consensus.
5. Monday, March 28th, is a day of general strike. Workers should abstain from going to the Israeli factories; stores should close and public transportation stop.
6. Tuesday, March 29th, is a day of repentance. All those who have deviated from the people's will are given the chance to repent and stop their animosity towards the people. They have to hand over their weapons, and their consciences have to be awakened.
7. Land Day, Wednesday, March 30th, is a day of general strike and massive demonstrations against the occupation forces and settlers.
8. March 31st and April 1st are days for returning to the land and cultivating it.

Long live our people's heroic uprising.
Long live the Palestinian Land Day.
Glory and victory to the masses of our people.
Glory and eternity to our faithful martyrs.

Call No. 12
The Call of Al Qastal
April 2, 1988

People of heroism and great sacrifices, you who are writing the history of the Arab nation. Your blood has become like candles bringing light to the Arabs and dispersing the darkness prevailing in the Arab world. Daily your uprising is being stepped up, fed by your precious blood which waters the soil of the homeland. Your uprising is scoring significant victories and growing greater and greater. The victories attained each day are accumulating to pave the way for fulfilling the greater anticipated victories, first and foremost the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

In spite of the brutality and repression, you are courageously defying all the Zionists' military orders issued to suppress the uprising of the entire Palestinian people- children, women, elderly, and youth, who are using only their sacred stones and their growing anger at the occupation and its hirelings.

To our fighting people of Al Qassam and Abdul Qader Al Husseini, the people of struggle and the offerers of great sacrifices: Your glorious uprising, your popular revolution has entered its fifth month. The Palestinian masses are confronting more than two-thirds of the Israeli occupation troops, backed by all the Zionist settlers who have been sent into the streets of our camps, villages and towns, to attack unarmed people. This powerful revolution cannot be uprooted or liquidated by brutal policies of bone-breaking, mass killing, fascist acts of terror, mass detentions or economic siege, because hundreds of thousands of Palestinians all over the occupied homeland today announce that there will be no step backward; the revolution of the stones will not stop unless a Palestinian state is established.

Just as happened on Land Day, when two million Palestinians expressed their belonging to one united people, today they rise up united under the banner of the PLO, the banner of the

United National Leadership, the banner of liberation and an independent state. In order to raise this banner over the hills of Jerusalem, the Palestinians of every town, village and camp rise up together to liberate their homeland.

You great people of Palestine, people of the PLO, people of the United National Leadership: Failing to extinguish the uprising by the brutal acts of suppression and terror, the occupation authorities now resort to new methods. They spread false rumors and misleading statements, allegedly signed by the United National Leadership, in an attempt to undermine the uprising. Yet the United National Leadership is fully confident that our people are able to counter all these fabrications. Meanwhile, the United National Leadership stresses that it is an integral part of those who make the uprising, of the rebelling Palestinian people, of the martyrs who have lost their lives in the uprising and of those who are ready to give their lives for the national aspiration of liberation. The United Leadership stands for the youth and children who throw stones and molotovs, for the thousands of mothers whose pregnancies were aborted by the poisonous gas, or whose children and husbands were sent to the Nazi-like Israeli jails, and for the thousarids of peasants and workers who stopped working at Israeli settlements and instead stood firm to defend their villages, camps and towns against the brutality of the Zionist settlers and troops.

You masses of our sacrificing people; you mothers of martyrs, injured and detainees; to all Palestinian mothers: The rulers of the Zionist entity believe themselves able to abort the uprising and undermine our faith in victory by mass arrests and storming our houses by night. They do not know that our people are an inexhaustible spring of revolutionary struggle and that they are accustomed to tolerate jails for the sake of the homeland. No matter how much the oppression and fascist measures are escalated, no matter how many of the uprising's children and men are arrested, the Zionist authorities will not be able to put an end to this uprising. Today, our people stand together as a giant overcoming all Zionist brutality and claims, increasing the

occupiers' dilemma and crises, and driving the Zionist soldiers to neurosis and shame. So, give as much as you can to your glorious uprising, for the dawn of liberation is breaking through the darkness of jails and torture, promising the achievement of an independent national state.

On the threshold of the fifth month of our glorious uprising that coincides with the 40th anniversary of Al Qastal battle, the battle of heroism and sacrifice, and the anniversary of the death of Abdul Qader Al Husseini, the United National Leadership asserts the following:

- The United National Leadership denounces all attempts to block the holding of the Arab summit in the first half of April and calls for its convening as soon as possible in order to ensure support to the uprising in occupied Palestine. The United National Leadership affirms to the Arab kings and presidents that the Palestinian people do not seek money; they are ready to suffer hunger and poverty, but never to surrender. They are willing to die as martyrs, but not to give up their rights. They are determined to march forward to the glorious victory. Yet, the Palestinians demand the summit to show concrete adherence to its previous resolutions, namely the emphasis on the Palestinian people's right to establish their independent state, under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, the PLO. The summit is also requested to adhere to the call for an international peace conference with full authority and the participation of all concerned parties, including the PLO, on an independent and equal footing. The summit is also called upon to close all Arab doors against the Schultz conspiracy which aims at liquidating the uprising. Such a step can be taken by announcing a total rejection of this conspiracy, by closing the Arab airports to the shuttles of Schultz and all other US envoys. Schultz and all the Arab hirelings would then understand that the PLO is the only force to approach, because it is the concerned party and the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.
- The United National Leadership and the rebelling people strongly denounce the recent suppressive measures, the sealing

off of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the imposition of curfew on the entire Gaza Strip for three whole days, the isolation of the West Bank by declaring it a closed area to the movement of residents and journalists, in a desperate attempt to prevent the people from marking Land Day. We are confident that all these desperate attempts are bound to fail, because the will of the uprising will overcome all fascist measures.

- The United National Leadership denounces the occupation authorities' decision to ban the Youth Movement and to dissolve seveal trade unions and institutions. These measures violate the most basic human rights and all international conventions and norms. The United National Leadership affirms that such measures will only make us more determined to continue the struggle for liberation.

- The United Natianal Leadership highly appreciates the united stand adopted by the merchants of Ramallah, who pledged in a general meeting attended by 300 merchants not to pay taxes and commited themselves to this in practice. This is an example for all the merchants in the West Bank and Gasa Strip to follow.

- The United National Leadership and the makers of the uprising salute the position of those who resigned from village and municipal concils in compliance with the calls. At the same time, the United National Leadership warns those who have not yet resigned that they expose themselves and their property to danger. In addition, we tell them that the masses of the uprising will clamp down on everybody who deviates from the national consensus and fails to comply with the calls of the uprising.

- The United National Leadership and the masses of the uprising highly appreciate the collective resignations of the tax and customs collectors in the Gaza Strip. The United National Leadership calls upon the workers of the same departments in the West Bank to follow the step taken by their colleagues in the Gaza Strip. The United National Leadership also appreciates the mass resignation of the policemen who abided by the call of the uprising, and demands the rest to resign immediately. The United National Leadership appeals to all of the national and

popular committees to continue the establishment of the guarding, protection and general order committees, so as to stop enemy forces from trying to spread an atmosphere of destruction and chaos. The United National Leadership also calls upon local industry to cooperate with the national and popular committees to absorb the policemen and the tax and customs collectors (who have resigned).

- The United National Leadership urges the agricultural engineers and experts and orchard owners to offer support and instruction to farmers, peasants and striking workers, so as to achieve maximum self sufficiency for confronting the economic pressures exerted by the occupiers. Let us improve and plant the land to meet our needs and to support the besieged areas. Let us all realize that it is the duty of all the masses of the uprising to increase production during our long war. Let us also realize that striking doesn't mean refraining from planting our land.

- The United National Leadership, as it persists in the long and hard struggle to expell the occupation and establish our independent state, calls upon the masses of the uprising to carry out the following activities:

1. Declaration of Monday, April 4th, as a day of total strike, expressing the masses' rejection of the conspiracy of US imperialism's secretary of state, Geoerge Shultz. The United National Leadership reasserts the position of the rebelling masses to boycott any meetings with Shultz or any other US envoy.
2. Declaration of Monday - Wednesday, April 4 - 6th, as days of mass activities by the different committees and the strike forces, to confront Shultz's visit, and to stand in solidarity with those detained and injured, by conducting sit - ins and popular demonstrations.
3. Tuesday, April 5th, is declared a day of national work where all national establishments and factories should function at full capacity. The income from this day should be dedicated to those who have suffered from the uprising, namely, the families of martyrs, wounded and arrested, besieged areas, the workers

who have boycotted their jobs in Zionist settlements and establishments, and those who resigned in accordance with the calls of the uprising. The distribution of this income will take effect through the popular committees in every city, village and camp.

4. On the occasion of the International Health Day, April 4th, the United National Leadership greets all the physicians, pharmacists and nurses who have carried out their duties by offering popular care and aid to those injured in the uprising. The United National Leadership calls upon all those working in this field to provide more medical aid.

5. Declaration of Thursday, the commemoration of Al Qastal battle and of the martyrdom of the Palestinian leader, Abdul Qadar Al-Husseini, as a day of fierce confrontation against the occupation forces and their cowardly settlers. Let us conduct mass demonstrations in the streets, and transform our camps, villages and cities into strongholds for the revolution and uprising.

6. Declaration of Saturday, April 9th, the commemoration of the first martyrs of the uprising and of the Deir Yassin massacre and of the uprising entering its fifth month, as a day of popular rule. The masses will head towards the martyrs' graves, and sit - ins will be held in municipalities and other establishments. This is a day of vehement anger against the occupiers and their repression. Let us turn the ground into a flaming volcano under their feet.

7. Observing Friday and Sunday, April 8th and 10th, as days of prayer for the souls of the martyrs of the uprising. Let us continue the demonstrations, marches and sit - ins in the mosques and churches.

8. Declaration of Monday, April 11th, as a total strike day where the masses should head towards voluntary work on their land in order to cultivate it, develop the Palestinian countryside and home economy.

Masses of the uprising, go forward
Stone - throwers, go forward
The uprising shall be victorious!

Call No. 13
The Call of the Prisoners
April 12, 1988

To the masses of our militant people who have shaken the ground under the Zionist occupation: makers of a bright future:

With your firebombs, stones and heroism, you are laying the foundation for victory in order to establish an independent Palestinian state. Your fighting arms as in Beita, the heroic Palestinian village, have challenged the occupation and are repaying the savage settlers twofold. Your uprising and national unity have directed a severe blow to Shultz and his conspiracy. He has returned to his foxhole in despair without meeting any of our people, for they asserted their refusal of all the hostile US conspiratorial solutions, showing that it is impossible to bypass the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of our people and leader of our struggle.

To the masses of the heroic uprising:

The path of the struggle is the proven method for ousting the occupation. Escalate the uprising and move foward toward civil disobedience. The various measures utilized by the occupation authorities, whether economic or fascist repression, have failed in the face of the strength of your struggle and unity. Their measures will only reinforce our determination to move forward to further successes, and encourage us to consolidate our challenge and struggle... You have asserted that the path of struggle and martyrdom is the only way to achieve our just goals. Therefore, the murdering of our militant people will not frighten us.

Your uprising has achieved many victories which cannot be ignored. First, we clearly feel the increasing international sup port to our people's cause and legitimate rights. We have achieved national unity in all of Palestine and in exile, strengthening our people's support of the PLO and its national program. This has marginalized the Jordanian influence and

aborted Jordan's «improving the quality of life» plan. You have also besieged the Zionist entity, exposed its racist face and caused international denunciation of its aggressive policies and military machine. You have caused it to lose millions of dollars economically, as well as increasing its human losses. These losses have made the occupied homeland a bleeding wound for «Israel» rather than a profitable enterprise.

Our heroic uprising is continuing. We must continue escalating it in order to create the conditions for the possibility of victory. We should escalate the uprising with concrete steps towards civil disobedience. We have begun to see its implementation as the apparatus of the «civil» administration dissolves. The majority of employees have resigned such as those working in the police, customs and taxes. A large number of the appointed municipal and village councils have resigned. The great majority of our people have abstained from paying taxes. The boycott of Zionist goods has been tangibly realized. Our workers have abstained from going to work in the Zionist projects. Other achievements include the increasing spirit of cooperation and solidarity among our people, as well as the return to cultivating the land. The concept of self - sufficiency has spread in practice, and the popular committees have spread in all the occupied homeland. Our people have begun creating a new national lifestyle and consolidated their national authority.

Now, on the treshold of Ramadan, the month of sacrifice and cooperation, and approaching Palestinian Prisoner's Day for our people's vanguard in the forefront facing the occupation's oppression, the United National Leadership asserts the following:

1. Confronting and denouncing the appointed municipal council members who refused to respond to the national demand for resignation. We call upon our people to boycott them, and not to pay license and vocational fees, etc. We warn them for the last time and call on them to resign immediately.

2. We salute the economic institutions and those people who refused to pay taxes, and assert the importance of abiding by

that. Simultaneously, we warn those who payed taxes against continuing to do so, whatever the excuse; this applies to factories and large economic institutions.

3. We salute all those who resigned from the civil administration, whether from the police, customs or tax department. We call on others to follow their example and resign.

4. Our heroic workers should boycott employment in Israeli settlements in the Palestinian West Bank and Gaza Strip, because this is instrumental in foiling the establishment of more settlements and paralyzing their services. We also call upon our workers to form and expand workers' committees in their work places, in order to organize their ranks and consolidate their struggling role.

5. We call upon the national production institutions and factories to increase their production, to hire more workers, and not to deduct from workers' wages on general strike days, nor dismiss them or decrease their wages.

6. We highly appreciate the spirit of economic and social cooperation among our people. We call for forming more popular, guarding and neighborhood committees to manage the people's affairs and their role in the uprising. We also call upon our masses to consolidate and practice the concept of self-sufficiency - cultivating the land, raising poultry, reducing expenditures and boycotting Israeli goods, especially during Ramadan.

7. We call on the Arab masses and democratic forces everywhere to escalate their struggle to support the Palestinian people. We salute Algeria's role in convening the Arab summit, and denounce the attempts of the reactionary Arab regimes to postpone the summit.

8. We call upon Syria to hasten to correct relations with the PLO, the leader of our people and their struggle, on the basis of confronting imperialism and its projects, and serving the Arab liberation struggle.

9. We call on all our people and professionals (doctors, engineers, agricultural engineers, lawyers, teachers, etc.) to

join in the uprising to relieve, help and serve the people in their field of specialization.

10. We warn you to be alert to the attempts of the enemy intelligence to trick you by defaming the national reputation of honest people. Be careful in dealing with the rumors of the enemy and its agents, and be alert to their attempts to destroy the property of honorable citizens.

To the masses of our people, builders of a free future:

The United National Leadership continues with you on the long and difficult path of struggle for defeating the occupation and establishing an independent state. We call on the masses of the uprising to implement the following actions:

1. Challenge the enemy's decision to close stores in the morning. Let us face this by designating opening hours from 8-11 a.m. except during the month of Ramadan, when the hours are changed to 2-5 p.m.

2. All Fridays and Sundays, and Tuesday, April 12th are days of demonstrations and national action.

3. Wednesday, April 13th, is the day for collecting donations and solidarity with Beita village, and observing a moment of silence commemorating the martyrs of the uprising at 10 a.m.

4. Thursday and Saturday, April 14th and 15th, are general strike days in protest of the mass arrests and the enemy's economic and suppressive measures against our people.

5. Sunday, April, 17th is Palestinian Prisoners' Day; we call for sit-ins, hunger strikes and fasting in the offices of the Red Cross, Red Crescent and national institutions, in solidarity with prisoners in the fascist jails.

6. Monday, April 16th, is the day of solidarity with the educational institutions; attend them as a challenge to the closure decisions.

7. Tuesday, April 19th, is the day of solidarity with the prisoners' and martyrs' families, and visiting their relatives.

8. Wednesday, April 20th, is the day of national unity, the day of (the PNC's 1987) unity session in Algeria. It is a day for national

actions and increased attention to agriculture and self - sufficiency.
9. Thursday, April 21st, is the day of the Palestinian molotov in response to the authorities giving settlers the right to fire on molotov throwers; it is a general strike day.

To the masses of our people:

Forward to confront the settlers and increase the losses in the enemy's ranks. Let the throwing of molotovs and stones continue until ousting the occupation and achieving victory.

Glory to our faithful martyrs.
Victory to us and death to the Zionist occupation.

Call No. 14
The Call of Abu Jihad
April 20, 1988

To our struggling people everywhere, brothers and comrades on the path of the heroic martyr, Abu Jihad; to the heroic masses of the uprising:

The fascist Zionist entity added a new crime to the series of daily crimes committed against our heroic people and symbol of their struggle, the PLO, their sole legitimate representative... In a hopeless endeavor to smash the glorious uprising, the racist entity has sunk up to its neck in a sea of blood shed on the land of legitimate struggle for obtaining the national rights of our heroic people.

Faithful son of Palestine (referring to Abu Jihad), symbol of defiance, struggle, giving and revolutionary work, even though you were shot dead by many poisonous, abominable bullets, you will remain the teacher and inspiration for our successive struggling generations until victory is won. You shall remain alive, high over Palestine, as well as in the hearts and minds of our elderly, children, women, girls and boys.

Our great martyr, the teacher of generations, we pledge that we will always abide by our principles and oath. We will continue the struggle until we attain all our people's aims and aspirations. Neither your blood nor the blood of our martyrs will have been shed in vain. We will either die as martyrs or raise the flag for which you sacrificed your life over sacred Jerusalem, the capital of our independent Palestinian state. We pledge to continue the struggle until victory, or die as martyrs on the way to liberation and independence.

To the struggling masses of our people:

The fascist Zionists think that they will put an end to your uprising through suppressive measures: the policy of assassination, crime and punishment; economic siege against our cities,

camps and villages; the policy of expulsion, blowing up houses, imposing long curfews and closing off areas, breaking bones and limbs, using poisonous gas bombs, nightly house raids and smashing citizens' property, without any regard for international conventions and norms, or principles of human rights.

The policy of the Zionist forces attests to the degree of their confusion, and to the painful blows directed by our heroic uprising against the invading forces and their economy which was built by sucking our people's blood.

To our sacrificing masses:

We call for more cohesion and unity, more painful blows to the fatigued, fascist enemy with stones, molotovs, iron balls, bows and arrows, slingshots, flaming balls and all means available. Let the earth burn under the invaders' feet by using all available means to revenge the murder of the sons of our people, the comrades of our great martyr, Abu Jihad, and all the martyrs.

To our steadfast and patient people:

With your great potentials, with glory and pride, you are continuing the struggle and escalating your enormous, heroic uprising to establish a strong foundation for the total civil disobedience. Our great leadership, through intense political action, is making fantastic achievements and increasing the support to our victorious popular revolution. This adds to the support and joint action of friendly forces, first and foremost, the Soviet Union, for convening an international conference with full authority and Palestinian representation in an independent delegation, to fulfill our legitimate national rights of return, self - determination and an independent state. This is supported by most of the world's states.

These achievements are the fruit of your glorious uprising. We call for more escalation of struggle against the occupation, its apparatus and agents, first and foremost the (appointed) municipal councils. There should be further formation and expansion of popular committees, strike forces and neighbor-

hood guarding and supply committees. There should be more cohesion and unification of the national struggle efforts in all locations. There should be further enactment of the uprising's program as specified in the preceding calls, and more boycott of Zionist products for which there are local substitutes. Avoid all unnecessary things. The merchants should abide by the boycott and not buy Zionist goods. More boycott of those who suck our blood, the tax and customs departments. Those who work in the police and customs departments should resign, following your comrades rather than hiding by taking vacations. The people are sharp - eyed and their hands will reach all those who deviate form the path of the victorious uprising.

To our glorious masses of the uprising:
In line with the uprising's program for struggle, we assert the following:
1. We stress the importance of not paying taxes to those who suck our people's blood.
2. We highly appreciate the response of our people, the agricultural and popular committees and neighborhood committees to the land call for home gardening and cultivating the earth through agricultural cooperatives. We call upon our people and committees to expand cultivation and cooperatives to include all our beloved homeland.
3. We call upon our people to continue rational economic planning, reducing expenses during Ramadan which is the month of sacrifice, cooperation and giving.
4. We call upon our workers to totally boycott work in Zionist settlements.
5. The work of the health committees shoud be expanded to help our people everywhere. There should be courses in first aid, preventive medicine and health awareness. We call upon our brother doctors to decrease their fees in support of the uprising.
6. In accordance with the PLO Executive Committee's decision, the popular and other committees will help those who have res-

igned from the tax and police departments, and our heroic workers who have boycotted work in Zionist settlements.
7. We hail the heroic masses in the Golan Heights, and assert our joint struggle. We hail the Palestinian and Arab masses inside the Zionest entity and in the Arab states for their support to our uprising. Let us all rise up against occupation and oppression.
We call upon the Arab governments to release the Palestinian and other Arab prisoners in their jails, as a service to our people's uprising.
8. We call upon the department heads in the civil administration in the Gaza Strip to resign immediately.
9. We assert the necessity of the International Red Cross Committee and the UNRWA bearing their responsibility for providing food and medical supplies to the cities, villages and camps under curfew and siege.

To the masses of our tremendous uprising:

Abiding by the struggle program of the Unified Leadership of the PLO, we call upon you to do the following:
1 - Fridays and Sundays are days for prayers for Abu Jihad and all the Palestinian martyrs; there will be marches and symbolic funerals during which black and Palestinian flags will be raised.
2 - April 23rd, one week after the martyrdom of the leader, Abu Jihad, is to be a day of rage when all militant actions will be promoted.
3 - April 22nd is a day for those who were expelled, with a general strike and struggle actions in solidarity with these militants, and denunciation of the policy of arbitrary expulsion.
4 - The other days are days of anger and escalation (of struggle) to denounce the policies of murder, assassination, long curfews, killing children with poisonous gas and arbitrary mass arrests; all activists will participate with distinguished, firm struggle.
5 - We call upon all the popular institutions and work committees to carry out all acts of struggle, using all potentials and means to carry out the decision of the United National Leadership that April 22 - 29th be the days of Palestinian anger for

directing painful blows to the Zionist entity, its forces and settlers. These are days for escalating the confrontation against the murderers of faithful martyrs.

To our masses, brothers of our great martyr, Abu Jihad, and all our faithful martyrs:

We call for more giving, more sacrifice, more national unity and cohesion, more use of all potentials and energies, more throwing of the sacred stones and molotovs, more heavy blows to the fatigued fascist entity. Let us shake the earth under the invaders' feet. The Palestinian blood that has been shed will not dry up. We pledge to our heroic martyr, Abu Jihad, and and to all our faithful martyrs that the day will come when the sound of the Kalashnikov rings out in every part of Palestine, in every village, camp and city. Its bullets will put an end to the Zionist fascism, and allow our people to regain their legitimate national rights under the PLO's militant leadership. Our word is a pledge. We want victory or death. We want an independent Palestine.

We shall be victorious.

Call No. 15
The Call of the Workers
April 30,1988

To the masses of our people, heroes of the uprising and makers of its glory:

Your stones and firebombs have shaken the earth under the occupier's feet. By your defiance and steadfastness, you adhered to the aims and slogans of the uprising. There are thousands of martyrs, wounded and prisoners as a result of the fascist suppression. By these sacrifices and your achievements as of now, you have made another step towards the stage of comprehensive civil disobedience. The uprising has removed from our people's minds all hesitation and retreat in the face of the occupiers' suppression and terrorism. We have no other choice but to escalate the struggle and to deal more painful blows to the fascist entity, in order to achieve freedom and independence.

In spite of all the repression, the isolation of cities, the besieging of camps and villages, starvation, murder, imprisonment, expulsions, the criminal assassination of Abu Jihad and the psychological war which the Zionists are launching to abort the uprising, our people did not retreat. They are creating a new way of confrontation, preparing themselves for a long period of struggle until ousting the occupiers and establishing an independent state. The occupiers want us to surrender, but our people, by their daily achievements, are building a strong foundation to continue and develop the uprising which created a new form of daily social and economical life. Because the uprising is a long and continuous revolutionary process, there are difficulties, sacrifices and poverty, but at the same time, it is full of achievements. National unity is firmly established among all sectors of our people and nationalist forces. There is broad solidarity among the popular committees, strike forces and guarding

committees; in cultivating the land and forming cooperatives; there is unprecedented social cooperation.

The uprising not only foiled the US-reactionary conspiracies and the Zionist dreams of continuing the occupation. It also increased the international support to our just aims. In conjunction with the Soviet-Palestinian agreement, it has made the climate more suitable than ever before for convening an international conference with full authority in order to realize the legitimate national rights of our people, and force the Zionist entity and US imperialism to yield to the will of the international community whose support to our people's aims increases day after day; this is evident in the UN Security Council's resolution No. 605 which asserted the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people. That was due to the influence of the uprising and the Palestinian, Algerian, Libyan and Soviet efforts. The Syrian-Palestinian relations are going in the correct direction after the meeting between the Palestinian delegation, headed by PLO Executive Committee Chairman, Brother Yasir Arafat, and Syria's president Hafez Al Assad. Syria calls for making a militant alliance with the PLO on the basis of respecting Palestinian decision-making.

We call upon the Arab states to form a new base for struggle and steadfastness, and to give priority to convening an Arab summit to support the uprising and to derive an Arab political stance for confronting the US imperialist plans, first and foremost Shultz's project.

The uprising has influenced our steadfast people in Lebanon, allowing expansion of their struggle and lightening their suffering. It also allowed for the Palestinian organizations that are still outside the PLO to rejoin its institutions on the basis of the 18th PNC. The uprising influenced the international balance of forces in favor of our people's national rights to repatriation, self-determination and establishing an independent Palestinian state under the PLO's leadership.

The United National Leadership confirms its commitment to our people's just national aims. By exposing the Zionist enemy's deceitful allegations to world public opinion about the aims of our just struggle, we further isolate the enemy internationally. We are optimistic about realizing our people's just aims and a just solution to our cause.

To the masses of our people:

The 15th call coincides with May lst, International Workers' Day. On this day of struggle for the workers of the world, the Palestinian people are proud of the revolutionary role of our workers and their trade union movement, who struggle alongside the other sectors of our people. We laud the big sacrifices they give in defense of our national cause. The United National Leadership is proud of the struggle of our heroic workers to continue the uprising in spite of the suffering they face. The United National Leadership calls upon international bodies and workers' organizations to show solidarity with the Palestinian workers' movement against the occupiers' decision to expell and detain unionists who are forbidden from any activity.

On May lst, the United National Leadership salutes our workers for their militant role and calls upon them to boycott all work in Zionist settlements, to work in the occupied territories, and to consolidate the uprising by not working beyond the «green line». We call upon our heroic workers to give more to materialize the united Palestinian will. Our workers are called on to form united workers' committees, and to strive for unifying the ranks of the trade union movement.

The United National Leadership appreciates the merchants' firm stance; it greets the Jerusalem merchants who refused the enemy's orders. We call upon all merchants to refuse all demands for opening their stores, and to abide by the national position of not paying taxes and not increasing the price of goods.

Boycotting Zionist goods and work in Zionist settlements will surely disintegrate the economic and social structure of the Zionist entity.

The United National Leadership greets our masses in the Gaza Strip and their besieged camps for their legendary steadfastness. We call upon our people in Shatta, Deir Al Balah and other camps to foil the authorities' plan of confiscating identity cards, aimed at aborting the uprising.

We call upon international organizations and the UNRWA to immediately resume food supplies to the Gaza Strip camps to support their steadfastness against the fascist measures.

The United National Leadership calls on our strike forces to direct severe blows against those who work in the police department and the (appointed) municipal and village councils, because they are deviating from our people's will. Among them are Al Zeer, Al Tawil, Khalil Moussa and Jamil Khalaf; the measures taken against them till now are only a warning.

Abiding by the proposal of our heroic citizens and merchants, we call for opening the stores for 3 hours, in all districts, from 9 a.m. till midday. This also applies to fuel stations; at other hours, one station should be open at a time on rotation. Factories open from 8 a.m. till 1 p.m.

To the masses of our militant people:

To practice civil disobedience, abiding by the struggle program of the United National Leadership, the militant arm of the PLO, we call upon you to abide by the following:

1. May 1st is a general national day. It is a day for confronting the racist occupation forces, for popular marches and demonstrations in villages, cities and camps, during which you will raise the Palestinian flag and chant slogans denouncing the occupation. Establishments, factories and companies should consider this day an official paid holiday.
2. May 4th is a day of general strike and national construc-

tion. We should cultivate the land and reconstruct the houses demolished by the fascist occupation forces.
3. May 5th is a day for foiling the enemy's decision to close academic institutions. We shall go to these institutions from 9 a.m. till midday.
4. May 7th is a day of solidarity with our heroic merchants. The stores should be open and guarded by the citizens and strike forces.
5. May 9th and 10th are days of general strike; all facilities and transport will stop in honor of the first vanguard of the martyrs of the uprising, and on the occasion of the uprising entering its 6th month. In these days, the authority of the people must be incarnated by directing blows against the occupation forces and their agents. All struggle means and potentials must be used to escalate the uprising against the fascist occupier.
6. May 2nd-11th are days of Palestinian rage and concentrated actions against the occupation; Friday and Sunday are days for prayers for the martyrs' souls.

The United National Leadership calls upon the popular and national committees to name streets and institutions after the martyrs, so they remain eternal in the memory of successive generations. From mosques and churches, powerful demonstrations should be launched against the usurping occupiers and the settlers. The way to civil disobedience demands further formation of popular, local, teaching, guarding, agricultural, informational and solidarity committees. It means more development of the means of our daily struggle, concentrating on the use of popular means, from the sacred stone to the burning molotov.

To the masses and youth of Palestine:

More strike forces. More giving for Palestine. With every blow to the enemy, we come nearer to the great victory. Our martyrs' blood should not be shed in vain. We will continue the struggle together to achieve our aims of freedom

and independence, and we assert that the PLO is the only party to address concerning our legitimate national rights.

Greetings to our steadfast masses and to all Arab national and international forces which support our victorious uprising. Together on the way of our uprising.

We shall be victorious!

Call No. 16
The Call of Palestine
May 13,1988

To the masses of our people:

Forty years have passed since the expulsion of our people from the homeland, and the attempt to liquidate our existence and national identity. However, our heroic people are stronger than the expulsion and the attempts to obliterate their identity. They have begun their contemporary national revolution which through waves of martyrs and sacrifices has defeated these attempts and elicited international recognition of our legitimate national rights and of the PLO as our sole representative. First and foremost of these rights are the rights of return, self- determination and the establishment of a legitimate national state under the leadership of the PLO. The achievements of the contemporary Palestinian revolution have continued through the brave uprising which enters its sixth month without weakness or retreat. Our people, who declared the uprising, realize the size of the sacrifices which they are offering on the way to liberation and independence. They are willingly paying the cost and offering martyrs, wounded, detainees and expelled. They realize the nature of the enemy they face, and what its brutal troops are doing-shooting bullets and poisonous gas, destroying houses and the criminal war of starvation. Nevertheless, our people have chosen the path of struggle and sacrifice as the sole way to achieve their national rights.

Knowing the nature of the enemy, they know that the battle they are waging is a protracted one. The war of attrition declared by our people raises the economic and political costs of the occupation, increases its isolation on the international level, confirms the brutal reality of the occupation, destroys the claims of coexistence which the enemy tried to

promote, and reinforces our national legitimate rights. The great uprising of December has confirmed the line of continuous struggle. It has brought our struggle and national cause to a new stage which centers on the continuation of resistance and the escalation of the confrontation towards civil disobedience.

We are carrying on the struggle with you under the banner of the PLO, our sole legitimate representative. We affirm our people's readiness for further sacrifices and to go forward towards civil disobedience. Civil disobedience essentially means the masses' independence from the occupation authorities, whatever sacrifices this demands-economizing, storing essential food and medical supplies, and bearing all hardships for the sake of the homeland. This requires militant persistance and strong will which knows no retreat or exhaustion.

We affirm the determination of the masses of the uprising to remove all obstacles in the way of civil disobedience, first and foremost by resignations from the departments which are connected with the occupation authorities, such as taxes, police and appointed municipal councils.

We welcome the removal of all obstacles to the normalization of Palestinian-Syrian relations and the reinforcement of Palestinian national unity through constructive democratic dialogue. Therefore, we affirm the necessity of avoiding secondary conflicts, instead, seeking democratic dialogue as the sole way to solve internal disagreements. We also condemn those who violate the will of our people and divide their ranks. We salute the nationalist role which Libya and Algeria are playing to reinforce the unity of the PLO and achieve the alliance of the Arab nationalist forces against the liquidationist conspiracies of imperialism, first and foremost Shultz's plan. We salute the efforts to revive the Palestinian-Syrian-Lebanese nationalist steadfastness triangle which the Zionist enemy fears. At the same time, we condemn the criminal Zionist aggression in South Lebanon,

which is a desperate attempt to weaken the uprising, divert attention from the heroism of our masses against the occupation, and raise the destroyed morale of the Zionists. We affirm that the Zionist aggression in Lebanon, and the news black-out which the occupation is imposing on the activities of the uprising, are incapable of abating the volcano of our people. We affirm the following:

- We salute the heroic role and remarkable escalation of the masses of the uprising in the camps of the Gaza Strip, in particular Shatta Camp, Jabalia and Khan Yunis which culminated in breaking the curfew. We urge the masses of the uprising in the Gaza Strip to continue their escalation and foil the plans of the neo-Nazis by totally boycotting the plan to change identity cards and refusing to pay fines and taxes.
- Administrators of the civil administration in the Gaza Strip are required to resign immediately, in particular Khairi Abu Ramadan from the health department and Mohammad Al Jadi from the department of education. Let all of them know that the masses of the uprising and its strike forces are capable of punishing those who refuse the will of the people and the decisions of their leadership...
- Accelerating the work to form popular committees in all locations. The other specialized popular committees bear the task of organizing the daily lives of the inhabitants, providing needed services and storing essentials such as food, medical, educational and safety supplies. Therefore, the popular committees are the authority of the people and the uprising, and an alternative to the appalling administration of the occupation, as well as an essential instrument for the success of civil disobedience.
- Reinforce the blows to the policemen and collaborators who violated the national consensus by not resigning from the enemy's service. The same applies to the appointed municipal councils.
- Confirm the refusal to pay taxes. Let the strike forces confront the attempts of the occupation authorities to isolate

inhabitants in order to force them to pay taxes; let them confront everyone who violates the national consensus. Stop paying taxes and fees to the appointed municipal councils, for they are traitors to the people and the revolution.
- Confirm the boycott of the Zionist products which can be replaced by local products or done without. Accordingly, the strike forces in each location will confront attempts to market these products and attack the vehicles which distribute them.
- Reinforce the boycott of work in the Zionist settlements by totally rejecting to offer services to the settlers.
- We salute the role of the lawyers who defend the detainees. We call upon them to reduce their fees, and to expose the practices of the occupation authorities and the inhuman conditions in which our detainees are living in the prisons of the fascist occupation.
- We call on all teachers to cooperate fully in the process of popular education and to escalate their struggle to protest the occupation's measures, such as depriving them of their salaries and continuing to close the academic institutions.
- Full adherence in all locations to the comprehensive commercial strike, opening shops from 9 a.m. till noon, and removing the vendors' carts which contradict this arrangement.

Our people once again remember the painful experience of expulsion from their homes and country, with determination to regain their full national rights. They are fully prepared to sacrifice by changing their way of life in order to suit the new circumstances of the struggle. Meanwhile, our people are celebrating, along with the people of the Islamic world, the Ramadan holiday. They declare the following program of struggle:
1. This Friday, May 13th, is special because it is the last Friday before the Ramadan holiday. Let it be a day of prayers for the souls of the martyrs of the uprising, a day of sym-

bolic funerals, marches and demonstrations for their eternal remembrance.

2. May 15th, the anniversary of the establishment of the state of Israel, is declared a day of national and general strike. All traffic should stop, and everyone should stay in their homes.

3. With the exception of nationalist ceremonies, we decided to cancel all celebrations on the Ramadan holiday in commemoration of the martyrs and in protest of Arab and Islamic silence about the occupation authorities' crimes against our people and holy places. The first day of the holiday is declared a day of remembrance of the martyrs. After prayers, there should be marches and demonstrations, putting wreaths on the martyrs' graves and raising the Palestinian flag. The second and third days of the holiday are days of solidarity among the masses of our people, devoted to visiting families of the uprising's wounded, martyrs, detainees and expelled. Family solidarity committees should be formed to assist those who have suffered in the course of the uprising.

4. Saturday, May 21st, is a general strike day in order to stabilize the authority of the popular committees in all locations, organize their activities and complete their formation.

5- The period from May 13th to 22nd is a period of militant national activities in order to keep the uprising strong on the road to liberation and independence.

Long live the victorious uprising of our people!
We shall be victorious!

Call No. 17
The Call of the Children of the RPG's and the Children of the Stones
May 22, 1988.

Our great popular uprising is continuing with defiant, determined steps towards achieving the aspirations of our people for freedom and independence - as one body, one Palestinian will and an unprecedented national consensus. Our people are determined to develop and escalate the stages of sacrifice, to give more of their precious blood, considering this a small price to pay for ending the nightmare of the fascist occupation. Despite all forms of fascist repression... they have recorded an inspiring lesson in their history of struggle for all struggling people. Neither conspiracies nor ugly crimes nor economic strangulation were able to quell their revolutionary will and adherence to the national goals.

To the heroic masses of our people:

Over time, our people's sacrifices and militant march have grown. First there was the revolutionary response to the June defeat (1967) of the Arab regimes and their programs, triggering the revolution of our masses. Then, there was the legendary steadfastness of our fighters and the fighters of our allies in the Lebanese National Movement. United in determination, armed struggle and sacrifice, they defeated the «invincible» army during the Zionist invasion of Lebanon and the repeated aggression on its land, despite its military and technological superiority. Today, the uprising is continuing and escalating. It has proven anew that there is no coexistence with the neo-Nazis and their artificial Zionist entity. The uprising has confirmed that there is no alternative to struggle and protracted people's war, as the way to achieve our rights to repatriation, self-determination and an

independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of our people.

As we approach total civil disobedience, we call on all our friends in the world to join together to work for achieving the demands of the victorious uprising, as a prelude to a just and comprehensive solution to our people's cause. The following are the demands :

1. Providing international protection for our people under occupation: stopping Zionist violations of the 4th Geneva Convention (1949) and annulling decrees that contradict them, including a stop to the illegal tax collection, to settlement - building and to amendment of the laws that prevailed prior to the occupation: treating Palestinian prisoners as prisoners-of-war.
2. Security Council resolution no. 605 expresses an international consensus; it deals with our people's cause as one of a people with legitimate national rights to live in their homeland.
3. Immediate release of all prisoners and detainees of our revolution and popular uprising, closure of all the Nazi prisons, and ending the policy of expulsion, house demolition and oppression of our people.
4. Withdrawal of the army from all residental areas, stopping the transformation of the camps into ghettos, stopping violations of the sanctity of the mosques and other religious places.

We confirm the necessity of achieving these immediate demands. We also confirm that the struggle of the Palestinian people will continue and escalate until achieving the legitimate rights to repatriation, self - determination and an independent state with Arab Jerusalem as its capital, under the PLO's leadership.

This call coincides with the Gorbachev - Reagan Summit. Our masses are anticipating this summit with great interest. We call on the summit to endorse the legitimate and human rights of our people to achieve national independence, self-

determination, and return to their usurped homeland. We consider the Soviet-Palestinian agreement regarding our legitimate national rights, which is supported by all the friends of our people and international consensus, a just basis for which there is no alternative in any comprehensive solution of the Middle East problem.

To the masses of our people:

The long-awaited Arab summit is convening as the uprising escalates and the fascist Zionist repression continues against our Palestinian and Arab masses. We confirm the need for providing all forms of support and Arab solidarity to our masses. On behalf of our masses, children, women, elderly, prisoners and militant revolutionaries, we call on the Summit of the Uprising to do the following:

1. Declare explicit rejection of the Zionized Shultz's initiative. He should not be received in the Arab capitals. All the imperialist and Zionist plans and conspiracies against our people and cause should be foiled.
2. We confirm that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of our people and the only party with the right to speak on our behalf in any forum. We condemn all attempts to bypass this representation or the legitimate national rights of our people, by certain Arab parties.
3. Instating democratic freedoms for the Arab masses and allowing them to practice their natural right to join with the masses of the victorious uprising. Releasing all political prisoners and opening all fronts to the freedom fighters' struggle against the Zionist entity.
4. We confirm our people's rejection of all suspicious schemes, particularly the Camp David accords, resolutions 242 and 338, Shultz's initiative and the (Israeli - Jordanian) joint administration plan (for the West Bank).
5. We confirm the significance of having united Arab political stands clearly declared to the world, in support of our legitimate national rights to repatriation, self - determina-

tion and an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital, under the PLO's leadership.

To the heroic masses of our people:

We confirm our previous decisions, and call on you to increase the boycott of the occupation authorities' departments,taxes, appointed municipal and village councils, and work at the settlements. We call upon you to deal painful blows to those who have deviated from our people's will, and to the Zionist enemy and settlers. We call for more work, sacrifice, popular committees, specialized committees, strike forces, stones and molotovs. As we approach total civil disobedience, we call for the following:

1. Immediate resignation of employees from the traffic, license, regulation and housing departments, and the identity card and employment offices.
2. Total boycott of tax payment and the tax department's security clearances.
3. Total boycott of Israeli goods. We bring to your attention the necessity for the merchants of Jerusalem and all merchants to be committed to this. Local and Arab national agricultural and industrial products should be marketed, as alternatives to Israeli products.
4. Removing vendors from the streets; such sales should be made in homes; this applies especially to Al Ram: vendors should be committed to selling during the designated time.
5. All students and employees of educational institutions should attend these institutions, and be committed to the study hours lasting until noon. Popular education should be continued and consolidated.

We call on our militant masses for more boycott and confrontation of those who deviate from the people's will. The decisions concerning resignations and boycott of the occupation's apparatus are aimed at achieving limited civil disobedience. This will bring us to the threshold of total civil disobedience which will be declared when the needed con-

ditions are accomplished. We call on you to implement the following program:

1. May 25th is a day of general strikes and fierce militant escalation, being the 40th day after the martyrdom of the leader, nationalist militant and symbol, brother Abu Jihad. We call on the masses and nationalist organizations to hold mass commemorations, marches and vocal demonstrations. We call on nationalist personalities to participate actively in these events to show loyalty and respect to Abu Jihad and all the martyrs of the revolution.

2. May 29th and 30th are general strike days and special escalation of the struggle on the occasion of the Gorbachev - Reagan summit.

3. June 1st is the International Day of the Child; it should be a day for the Palestinian children; there should be children's marches, and gifts should be given to the children of our faithful martyrs, the heros who were expelled and the prisoners.

4. The days from June 2nd to June 7th are days of general strike in response to the Zionized Shultz's visit, and on the occasion of the anniversary of the invasion of Lebanon (1982) and the Arab regime's defeat (1967). The strike forces and the masses should deal heavy blows to the occupation troops, the settlers and those who deviated from our people's will. These are special days of struggle, necessitating broad popular participation.

5. All other days are for consolidating popular education, and forming more popular committees, strike forces, family solidarity committees and other specialized committees.

To our militant people: Go forward with firm strides, determination and sacrifices.

Together, with militant unity, a solid will and great sacrifices, we shall make the dawn of free, independent Palestine.

We shall be victorious.

Call No. 18
The Call of the Palestinian Child
May 29,1988

To the masses of our heroic people:

We pledge to escalate the popular uprising until the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. With your determination, you have destroyed the illusions held by the occupation for over twenty years. You have destroyed all attempts to create alternatives to the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of our people, and to abolish our rights to repatriation, self-determination and an independent state. With your sufferings and sacrifices, you are going to continue and escalate the uprising in order to forge a new path on the way to establishing freedom and independence. Your uprising has destroyed the apparatus of the fascist occupation, that was established to serve its interests and restrict the interests of our people; on its ruins, the uprising will build the independent apparatus of the people's authority, represented by the popular committees with their various functions. The popular uprising has restored priority to our national cause, as the cause of a people struggling to restore their legitimate national rights, so that it constitutes a significant issue on the Moscow summit's agenda, and will be the essential issue at the Arab Summit of the Uprising in Algeria.

To the masses of our heroic people:

These days mark the 21st anniversary of the Arab regime's defeat and the occupation of the remaining parts of our beloved homeland. While the Arab and Moscow summits are being held, Shultz is trying to impose his conspiracy with the aim of aborting the uprising. Yet our masses are escalating the victorious uprising every day, showing that

there is no retreat until ending the occupation and establishing an independent Palestinian state led by the PLO.

To the people of Abu Jihad and all the honorable martyrs:

Through the revolution, our people have learned the way to attain their rights by continuous struggle throughout twenty years of oppression and attempts to liquidate their rights and national identity. Consequently, they created the generation of the uprising, of freedom and independence, the builders of our independent national state on the national soil. This generation has determined to make the occupation pay a high price for having disgraced our land and holy places. They are determined to transform the occupation into a hell for the killers: the settlers and troops.

The United National Leadership of the Uprising calls on our masses to escalate the uprising and direct severe blows to the Nazi soldiers. We also call for organizing and expanding the uprising's apparatus, the specialized committees and strike forces, in order to enact total civil disobedience and realize the uprising's slogans and just demands as a main prerequisite for fulfilling the legitimate national rights of our people to repatriation, self - determination and an independent state. These demands and slogans, which necessitate implemention of the 4th Geneva Convention, are: sending international observers to offer protection for our people; withdrawal of the army from the cities, villages and camps; lifting the siege imposed on cities, villages and camps; releasing detainees; repatriating the expelled; repealing the laws and decrees which have been imposed by the occupation concerning taxes and other things; holding democratic elections for new councils; removing the restrictions imposed on our national economy, in order to build and develop the agricultural, industrial and service sectors.

United in waging this difficult struggle, our people and the PLO/United National Leadership demand that the Arab summit shoulder its responsibilities towards its people and

history, in order to support the Palestinian struggle not through condemnation and speeches, but through the following:

1. attaining a clear, united political position before the world, reaffirming support to the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of our people; and providing support to help our people continue their struggle.
2. refusing all liquidationist plans, first and foremost Shultz's initiatives; and adhering to the convening of a fully empowered international conference with the participation of the PLO on an independent and equal footing.
3. releasing all political detainees from Arab jails; restoring democratic freedoms for the Arab masses, to enable them to offer solidarity to our victorious uprising: and permitting our commandos to operate across the Arab borders towards occupied Palestine.

In order to realize total civil disobedience, the United National Leadership reaffirms the following:

- Immediate resignation of those who are working in the license and traffic departments, and in the regulation , housing, identification card and population registry offices.
- After the Zionist authorities were forced to reopen schools, we should reschedule the curriculum to compensate for what the students have missed, especially those who should graduate from high school. We are sure that the schools will remain citadels of the uprising and that popular education will play a complementary role in raising our students' qualifications.
- boycotting the departments through which the occupation tries to restrict our citizens' movement; this means boycotting security clearances, and those who have deserted the struggle and the suspicious municipal councils. It is important to reaffirm that the popular committees in all places should play a prominent role in mobilizing the citizens and abiding by the national position.
- Abstaining from payment of all forms of taxes and boycot-

ting Zionist agriculturral and industrial products, as well as work in Zionist settlements.
- Our people in the Gaza Strip should also refuse to receive new identity cards. The popular committees should mobilize in this field to reinforce the boycott and abide by the PLO/ UNL directives.
- Continuing the formation of popular committees, as well as neighborhood security, health, guarding, media, economic and agricultural committees, and strike forces, the militant arm of the Unitied National Leadership; continue home gardening and economizing.
- Reinforcing the blows to those who deviate from our people's will by remaining in the village and municipal councils, and the police and customs departments; increasing the use of popular struggle means from stones to molotovs against all enemies.

To our militant people:

We call upon the people to make the coming days ones of mass rage in accordance with political occasions and coming events, by carrying out the following militant activities:
- May 28th and 29th are days of demonstrations and mass marches; all nationalist personalities, activists and organizations should participate in order to make the voice of the uprising heard in Moscow.
- May 30th is a day of general strike and special escalation on the occasion of the Reagan - Gorbachev summit; we must increase the writing of nationalist slogans and raising the Palestinian flag in every village, town and camp.
- June 1st is the International Day of the Child; children's marches should be held, and Palestinian flags and slogans should be raised; the various committees, especially those for solidarity with the harmed people, should give presents to the children of the martyrs, wounded, detainees and expelled.
- June 3rd-6th are days of general strike on the occasion of

Shultz's visit, the anniversary of the Zionist occupation. Our masses and strike forces should make demonstrations, confront the occupation and its agents, and burn the land under the feet of the fascist occupation and its agents.

- June 7th is declared as a day of Arab solidarity with the popular uprising; massive demonstrations should be held. The Arab masses are called on to demonstrate in support of our victorious uprising.

Call No. 19
The Call of the Detainees of the Uprising
June 8, 1988

To the masses of our people:

Through your total adherence to the march of your escalating popular uprising; your determination to attain the legitimate national rights of our people to return, self-determination and an independent state; and your fidelity to the PLO as your sole legitimate representative, you are materializing the decisive response to all conspiracies,projects and «options» from Camp David and joint Israeli-Jordanian administration to the Shultz plan - all of which aim to violate your national rights and liquidate your cause.

To our struggling people:

As a result of the hostile US position on our people's aspirations and legitimate national rights, the Gorbachev-Reagan summit couldn't reach any agreement concerning the Middle East crisis and its essence, the Palestinian cause. We greet the Soviet stand of support to our cause. At the same time, we affirm our decisive rejection of Shultz's plan and his shuttles in the region. This is the latest of the desperate attempts to abort the uprising. It also aims to pressure some Arab forces in order to influence the political decisions of the Arab summit, the Summit of the Uprising in Algeria. Accordingly, some reactionary Arab circles try to promote Shultz's initiative and separate solutions to conform with US imperialist plans. Thus, we consider the meetings between the Zionist minister of war, Rabin, and some agents who are disloyal to the march of our people, as an attempt to create feeble alternatives to represent our people, in order to replace the PLO, our sole legitimate representative. Likewise, the suspicious activities of *Al Nahar*

newspaper and its staff, establishing a special research center and publishing lies, are attempts to confuse our people and destroy their unity, in order to divert them from the correct national line. The United National Leadership condemns any meeting with US or Zionist officials, and affirms that our people should only be addressed through the PLO, our sole legitimate representative.

To our struggling people:

With your unified will, increased sacrifices and renewed escalation of the uprising, you are materializing the decisive response to the enemy's claims that the uprising was declining and that your struggle capacity had weakened. In spite of all kinds of fascist repression used by the occupation authorities against the masses, the victorious uprising's achievements are increasing day by day on the way to freedom and independence. You have defeated the enemies' claims by boycotting the occupation administration, increased resignations from the civil administration departments, refusal to pay taxes to the bloodsuckers, boycotting work in Zionist settlements and industries, and supporting the national ones, cultivating more land, keeping livestock, economizing and storing essentials,practicing social and family solidarity, strengthening popular authority, escalating the struggle against the fascist occupation forces and those who refused to accept the will of our people, and total adherence to the struggle program and decisions of the PLO/United National Leadership. These great accomplishments have moved the escalating uprising towards a new stage of struggle, that of total civil disobedience. Announcing this stage depends on several prerequisites, first and foremost, completing the establishment of organs of popular authority in every town, village and camp in the occupied territories.

To the masses of the brave uprising:

The United National Leadership of the Uprising salutes

the steadfastness of our brave detainees in the neo-Nazi detention centers in the Negev, Dhahiriya, Atlit, Ansar, Magiddo, Al Fara'a and in all the prisons. The United National Leadership:

1. Confirms the necessity of immediate resignation from the appointed municipal and village councils, from the police, tax, customs, regulation, housing and traffic departments, and from the identity card and population registry offices; boycott work in Zionist settlements, tax payment, Israeli goods and security clearances.
2. Salutes those who responded to the call of the uprising by resigning from the above-mentioned enemy departments, in particular the traffic department.
3. Salutes our masses in the Gaza Strip for their heroic confrontation against the suppressive procedures of the occupation and the plans for changing identity cards.
4. Salutes our brave merchants for their adherence to the commercial strike and the arrangement for opening shops from the morning till 12 noon.
5. Warns our people of the psychological warfare waged by the Zionist authorities and their agents through the media and false declarations. We warn of the new ways being used by the Zionist intelligence in surveillance and arrest procedures, such as using cars with West Bank and Gaza Strip license plates, and dressing in the Palestinian popular way, etc.
6. Salutes our brave students for their effective role in the uprising, confirming that continuing study is one of the achievements of the uprising and an expression of the occupation's dilemma. We urge students, teachers and academic institutions to continue education and to compensate for lost school time on official holidays, while affirming total adherence to the strike on full strike days and increasing popular education to raise our students' academic level. On ordinary days, learning will be from the morning till 12 noon. We call on students to persist in participating in the activities of the

uprising and to organize sit-ins, marches and demonstrations in solidarity with their detained colleagues.
7. Calls on our heroic workers to form more and more of the unified working committees and to participate in the existing unions in order to protect their rights and strengthen their national struggle. In spite of the total strike days, no worker should be dismissed, nor working hours increased,nor deductions made from wages.
8. Calls for the removal of goods displayed outside the shops, as being alien to the arrangements for shop opening. We warn those who are selling Israeli products with Arab labels and call on the strike forces to ensure implementation of this directive.

To the masses of our vanguard uprising:

The United National Leadership congratulates you on the occasion of the uprising entering its seventh month. We salute your determination to continue progessively on the way to our people's rights of repatriation, self-determination and an independent state. We salute the steadfastness of our heroes under siege, our combatants in detention, the wounded, the martyrs' families and those who have been expelled from the homeland. Therefore, we call on you to carry out the following program:
1- June 9th will be a general strike day on the occasion of the seventh month of the uprising, and to commemorate the first wave of martyrs.
2- June llth is a day of solidarity with our detained heroes. Marches, sit-ins and demonstrations should be held at Red Cross offices, supervised by the committees in solidarity with the detainees.
3- June 15th is a day of reinforcing popular authority, when the masses should continue forming specialized popular committees in all locations.
4- June 15th is a general strike day for solidarity with the detained students and supporting popular education.

5- June 16th is a day for storing food, medical supplies, fuel and other necessities.
6- June 18th is a day of popular escalation, raising the slogan of loyalty to the PLO and adherence to the legitimate national rights of our people to repatriation, self-determination and a national state; blows should be dealt to the occupation authorities and to those who have refused to accept the will of our people.
7- June 19th is a day for our masses to completely boycott the civil administration departments in order to consolidate collective resignations and the rule of popular authority.
8- June 20th is the day of the martyred Palestinian children; marches of children should be organized, as visits to the families of martyred children.
9- June 22th is a general strike day, and a day of returning to the land to cultivate it. Industrial and agricultural resources of the enemy should be burnt and destroyed.
10- Powerful demonstrations and marches should be organized on Fridays and Sundays, as well as prayers for our martyrs' souls.

To our people:

Escalate your confrontation of the occupation forces and settlers, using all forms of popular resistance from stones to molotovs.

Our martyrs will guide our march and our resistance.
We shall be victorious.

Call No. 20
The Call of Jerusalem
June 21, 1988

To our people, the masses of the uprising, national and popular committees and strike forces which are hitting the scattered remnants of the occupation with stones and molotovs, and utilizing all forms of popular resistance:

The great popular uprising did not cease; nor did its flames abate as the occupation authorities try to convince themselves . Rather it has escalated, attaining achievements, one after another, to form an impressive record. Obviously proud, our people are watching the achievements which the uprising has imposed on the Arab and international reality. The decisions of the Summit of the Uprising in Algeria confirmed the changes which the uprising has imposed on the Arab world,restoring priority to our people's cause. Accordingly, the political decisions of the Algiers Summit harmonize with the slogans of the uprising and dealt a hard blow to US policy in the area. They closed the door to Shultz's attempt to promote his plan, and reaffirmed the legitimate national rights of our people to return, self - determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. They reasserted the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of our people every where, and the necessity of convening a fully - empowered international conference with the participation of the PLO on equal footing with the other parties, as well providing international protection for our people in the occupied territories. We salute the Algerian efforts, represented by President Shadli Ben Jadid, to convene the summit. We demand that the leaders of the summit abide by their decisions, and undertake concrete, effective work to execute them.

To the masses of our heroic people:

The uprising is continuing and refusing any retreat. Daily, it brings our people closer to achieving the immediate goals as a step towards the national goals of liberation and independence. The United National Leadership affirms its short-term goals which are the following: International protection for our people in the occupied territories, sending international delegates to supervise the implementation of UN resolutions, holding municipal elections under international supervision, respecting the 4th Geneva Convention relating to the protection of civilians in times of war, withdrawing the Israeli army from residential areas, the release of all detainees, closing the Nazi detention centers, a stop to the expulsion policy and allowing those expelled to return to their homeland, and respecting the principles of human rights.

To the masses of the uprising:

Your uprising has gone on the offensive against the Zionist authorities' campaigns of repressive measures, such as destroying houses, arrests, raids, burning and uprooting plants. Last week, we witnessed a new transition of the uprising with escalation, increasingly large confrontations, throwing molotovs, facing groups of settlers and forcing the occupiers to announce their weakness. Our people are asked to continue the uprising, increase their active participation by forming more popular committees and strike forces, strengthen the unity in their ranks and increase their boycott of the civil administration departments and the military government, heading towards total civil disobedience.

The United National Leadership salutes the masses of our people in particular those in places where fascist terrorism and repression has been defeated: in the brave Gaza Strip, Tulkarm and its defiant villages, Idna and the villages of the giant mountain of Hebron, the proud Beit Furik and the defiant Ibwein.In the name of these places and our defiant camps, we call on our people in the camps of heroism in

Lebanon to stop the shedding of Palestinian blood, as a service to our people's uprising and national goals. Our masses will never forgive those who caused these regretable events which are far removed from the lessons of the uprising, in contradiction with the efforts to achieve total Palestinian national unity, and an attempt to obstruct Syrian-Palestinian rapprochment. The masses of our people condemn any violation of their national will.

To the masses of our people:

The occupiers imagined that the annexation of Jerusalem on June 28, 1967, would enable them to impose *a fait accompli* on our people and to create the impression in the eyes of the world, that Jerusalem had become unified under the administration of the occupation. However, the active participation of our masses in Jerusalem has upset the occupiers' calculation, and confirmed the adherence of our people to the capital of our state, as well as its holy places and heritage of civilization.

The United National Leadership affirms the following:

- The necessity of continuing the struggle of the students for the release of their detained colleagues. Therefore, we call for consolidating the popular organization of all students, in particular the secondary school students. We call on the students and their united committees to protect the process of education and adhere only to the decisions of the United National Leadership. We urge those in charge of the universities and other educational institutions to organize the academic life. We call on international, Arab and local universities to accept the first semester certificates of the secondary school students who are now in detention centers, and urge the Higher Council of Education to respond to this demand.
- We salute the brave merchants who, despite tax raids, refuse to pay taxes and are determined to continue on the path of our people. Accordingly, we affirm the necessity of

boycotting taxes, particularly by factory-owners. We urge our brave merchants to organize sit-ins to protest the occupation's measures violating their rights.
- We salute our militant masses in the Gaza Strip for confronting the measures of the fascist occupation authorities, in particular in Bureij camp after the resignation of its local council. We warn our masses in Deir Al Balah of the attempts at financial blackmail by suspicious persons, under a national guise. We confirm the necessity of refusing the orders of the authorities to remove slogans from the walls. We stress the importance of establishing committees to protect the process of secondary school exams.
- We confirm the call for the employees in the departments of regulation, housing,population registry and traffic, to resign immediately in order to end our masses' relations with the institutions of the occupation. The strike forces should reinforce their blows to the appointed municipal and village councils, as well as to those who didn't resign from the police and tax departments.
- We call on doctors to reduce their medical fees, and demand that landlords reduce rents for those who cannot pay, as well as those who have suffered during the uprising.
- We urge the Arab countries to instate democratic freedoms, and release the Arab and Palestinian detainees from their prisons.

To the masses of the uprising:

With total escalation and strength, the uprising is completing its seventh month... The program of struggle during the period of this call is for Jerusalem, and to express its belonging to the Arab world, as follows:
1. June 24th is a day of solidarity with our brave merchants, in order to denounce raids, the confiscation of property and identity cards, and summons. On this day, blows should be directed against tax departments as well as their employees.
2. June 25th is a day of struggle against racial discrimina-

tion, and a day of solidarity with the people of South Africa. On this day, our people express solidarity with all people who are subjected to racial discrimination. It is a day of struggle under the slogan: «Freedom for the people! Death for the racists!»

3. June 26th is a day of popular authority, for striking those who refuse to accept the will of our people, and attacking the headquarters of the appointed municipal councils.

4. June 28th is the day on which the occupation authorities announced the annexation of Jerusalem. Therefore, it is a general strike day in order to reaffirm Jerusalem's belonging to the Arab world.

5. June 27th and 29th are days of mass escalation and marches in all locations, particularly in Jerusalem, under the slogan: «Jerusalem is the capital of our Palestinian state».

6. June 30th is a day of national reconstruction and solidarity with those whose houses were destroyed or sealed. All committees should help in reconstructing the destroyed houses.

7. July 1st is a day of Palestinian heritage. Debates, shows and other activities should be organized to display our national heritage and protect it from being misrepresented and obliterated.

8. July 2nd is the 18th anniversary of the heroic strike of the detainees in Asqalan prison. Therefore, it is a day of solidarity with all detainees and their heroic struggles.

9. July 3rd is a national health day, medical teams and health committees will provide services.

10. July 4th is a day of reinforcing the establishment of the popular committees as well as strike forces. It is also a day of popular education.

11. July 5th is a general strike day, as well as boycott of the civil administration departments. Also, this is a day to give Palestinian names to institutions and schools which don't have such names.

To the masses of our heroic people:
- Escalate the blows against the fascist occupiers and settlers.
- Increase the number of strike forces, the struggling arm of the United National Leadership.
- Escalate all forms of popular struggle.
- Escalate destruction of the fascist enemy's property throughout.

Glory to our heroic people!
Immortality for our faithful martyrs!
We shall be victorious!

Call No.21
The Call of Al Aqsa
July 6, 1988

To our heroic masses:

Our people's uprising has entered its eighth month with vigor and escalation, achieving one victory after the other on the way to freedom and independence. You have bravely confronted the neo-Nazi authorities' repression and crimes. Day after day, you have confirmed your strong determination to continue the uprising and struggle until achieving the national rights of our people to repatriation, self-determination and an independent state, under the leadership of the PLO, our sole legitimate representative.

The uprising of our people and representative, the PLO, has enabled us to achieve an outstanding political victory at the Summit of the Uprising in Algiers. This was expressed in clear approval of an independent Palestinian state and the PLO's sole representation of our people. Our masses ask the participants in the summit to implement these decisions.

The uprising has created a broad change in international public opinion on both the popular and official levels, in favor of our national cause. The uprising has elicited unprecedented support for our people's rights to repatriation, self-determination and an independent state. It has once and for all buried the schemes and feeble alternatives aimed at liquidating our legitimate rights. The uprising has confirmed that there is no alternative to freedom and national independence.

We confirm that our people are struggling in order to maintain their existence and achieve their usurped national rights. Our people have long been exposed to the occupation authorities' repressive policies-house demolition, burning crops, damaging property, besieging villages and camps,

expulsion, arbitrary detention, and killing children, women and elderly with bullets and poison gas. Our masses call on the international community and the UN for immediate intervention to withdraw the Israeli army from residential areas in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, to provide international protection for the unarmed masses, and to close down the fascist detention centers, particularly the infamous Naqab desert prison. Our masses confirm that there will be no stability in the Middle East, and perhaps not in the world, before the achievement of a comprehensive and just solution for the Palestinian cause through a fully empowered international conference attended by the permanent members of the UN Security Council and with the PLO participating on an equal footing with the other parties, because it is our sole legitimate repesentative.

We are proud of the national unity prevailing among the masses of the uprising. We call on our masses wherever they are to unite their ranks and efforts. We condemn the savage bombing of Shatila and its destruction by the renegade group of Abu Musa, because this is a stab in the back to the PLO. We hold Syria responsible for not preventing the destruction of Shatila, because it is the only party that could have done so. We demand that Syria begin immediate work to stop the plan of massacres and liquidation of the militant Palestinian presence in Lebanon.

To the masses of the uprising:

We salute our masses in revolt everywhere; we highly evaluate the role of the heroic masses of Jerusalem in confronting the attempts to desecrate Islamic and Christian holy places. We call on the masses to escalate and develop the uprising, in order to move closer to civil disobedience...

- Consolidate the boycott of Zionist products; prohibit their import to our markets; the local (Palestinian) press must not publish advertisements for any of these products; the strike forces will monitor anyone marketing such products.

- Refrain from paying bails and fines to the occupation authorities' treasury.
- Withdraw all savings from Israeli banks.
- National factories should double production, pay overtime, improve working conditions, and refrain from wage deductions on days of general strike. Trade unions should sign agreements with the local proprietors (of these factories) in line with the national interest. Successful experience in this field should be generalized.
- Be alert to the attempts of the occupation authorities and its agents to break the unity of our people by spreading sectarian tendencies, as happened in Nablus, Bethlehem and Gaza. Anyone who participates in this dirty plan in any way will be firmly confronted.
- Be alert to agents operating under the cover of religion and nationalism, who try to distort the image of the uprising and to discredit the PLO and the United National Leadership. We must investigate the identity of the tax collectors and severely strike all forms of mischief, theft and harm to our nationalists, such as what happened in the Gaza Strip, and northern West Bank. Poisonous programs broadcast by the Zionist media should be boycotted.
- We highly evaluate all those who resigned from the departments of the civil administration. Blows should be concentrated against those who did not resign despite being asked to do so.
- Continue to form and consolidate united popular committees and committees for popular education, health, storage, self-sufficiency and guarding. We should refer to the popular committees for solving problems rather than referring to the occupation authorities' apparatus.
- Forming special committees for guarding property and crops, specifically in Jericho, Al Aghwar and the northern areas, in order to protect them from the settlers' aggression and the occupation's agents.
- Consolidate the national economic structures, self- suffi-

ciency and agricultural cooperatives. Entrench the concepts of social cooperation and mutual aid.
- We warn school principals that are deviating from the instructions of the United National Leadership by taking measures against students. All teachers must be involved in popular education on strike days and when schools are closed. Schools should be transformed into bases for strengthening national awareness and militancy. We call on students to continue forming united committees in order to organize the educational process.
- We salute Nazareth and the 13th voluntary work camp, its organizers and participants. We salute the masses inside (the green line) for their support to our people's uprising. We are confident that they will give more support...We salute the Jewish progressive, democratic and peace forces that support the national rights of our people, and ask them for more activities in support of these rights.

We condemn the July 3rd massacre in the courtyard of Al Aqsa mosque, carried out by the occupation forces and settlers. We highly evaluate the Jerusalem masses' heroic confrontation in defense of the holy places. We call on our masses to be alert and to prevent the settlers and Zionist politicians from desecrating and destroying our holy places. We cry out to the Islamic and Arab countries, the Vatican, UN and all our friends in the world, to intervene immediately to stop the desecration of Islamic and Christian holy places.

We salute the students who hold the pen in one hand and the stone in the other, the workers who are building our national economy, the merchants who are enforcing the national decision, the peasants who are confronting the settlers, and the strike forces who are dealing painful blows to the occupation forces and settlers. We call for implementing the following program:
1. July 7th is a day of solidarity with the besieged villages

and camps; national activities should be organized to aid them and lift the siege.

2. July 8th is the day of holy Al Aqsa, a day of special escalation; the masses should participate in all the activities to protect Al Aqsa and all our holy places. The strike forces should deal painful blows to the occupation forces and settlers.

3. July 9th and 10th are general strike days on the occasion of the uprising entering its 8th month, and the fall of the first martyrs. These are days of national mourning for the souls of our people's martyrs in Shatila and Burj Al Barajneh camps; black banners should be flown.

4. July 12th is a day for cooperative work and going back to the land; agricultural cooperatives and the rural economy should be consolidated.

5. July 14th marks the 8th anniversary of the heroic strike in Nafha prison. It is a day for solidarity with the Naqab desert prison. The mass organizations and institutions should carry out solidarity activities. We call on the prisoners to stage a hunger strike, refusing one meal.

6. July 16th is a day for militant activities protesting the closure and storming of schools, and the detention of students.

7. July 18th is a general strike day in solidarity with the prisoners in the desert prison in the Naqab.

8. July 6th-July 20th are days for confronting the occupation forces and apparatus. The popular committees, the specialized committees and the strike forces should take the initiative to consolidate popular authority.

We call for more popular struggle methods.. more heroic confrontation of the occupation.. more national unity in the field, on the way to freedom and national independence.

Call No. 22
The Call of the Blessed *Al Adha* Holiday
July 21, 1988

To the masses of our people:

Your victorious uprising is escalating day after day, realizing achievement after achievement. It is moving forward with an unbending will, unity and adherence to the principles of the Palestinian national work, especially our people's national rights to repatriation, self - determination and an independent state on our national soil, with Arab Jerusalem as its capital.

We congratulate our resisting masses, the Arab nation and all Islamic people on the occasion of the blessed *Al Adha* holiday. At the same time, we call for more solidarity and consolidation of the militant national unity of all the religious and nationalist forces, in order to mobilize all the masses' potentials for resisting the fascist occupation. The enemy is one and does not differentiate between one and the other of us. Nor is there room for secondary differences in our people's ranks at a time when we need all potentials for a militant united effort to increase the blows to the deteriorating structure of the occupation, day after day.

The masses have gained broad international support for our rights and national cause. They have caused the dissolution of many of the occupation's departments, and increased the intensity of the reactions and contradictions in the Zionist entity and its public, military, economic and political institutions. They have consolidated popular authority and overthrown all alternatives to the PLO, their sole legitimate representative. Our masses' new life-style, and the many new forms of confronting the occupation's repression, are indications that the uprising has entered a qualitatively new stage.

We salute the legendary mobilization of the masses in Jerusalem, defending our holy places against the attempts to destroy and desecrate them. At the same time, we call on the masses of our people to defend these holy places and to confront the Zionist decision to resume excavations under the sacred Al Aqsa mosque. We praise the heroic battles waged by our masses in defiant Beit Sahur and steadfast Qalqilya and in all the besieged, rebellious areas. At the same time, we assert the following:

- Total commitment to all points in the past calls concerning resignations, boycott, and organizing the people's lives.
- Continued establishment and consolidation of the popular committees by rallying around them, referring to them for solving all problems, and applying their programs, in order to replace the occupation authorities' apparatus and the appointed councils with the people's authority.
- Consolidating the popular education programs in order to confront the occupation authorities' policy of keeping our people ignorant by closing schools and other educational institutions. It is necessary to condense the curriculum for those who are preparing to graduate from high school, and to demand the release of the detained students so that they can take their final exams.
- We salute our people inside the «green line» who responded to our calls by destroying the enemy's property and directing blows to its forces. We call upon them to increase their support to the uprising, and not to respond to the occupation authorities' attempts to recruit them to its departments in the Palestinian West Bank and Gaza Strip, in order to foil this plan.
- We salute the stance of the public hospitals - the administration, doctors and other employees, for their refusal to yield to the occupation authorities' repressive instructions concerning the provision of medical services to our people.
- Employees in the public sector, except for health personnel, should abide by the general strike days.

- We call for firm mass confrontation of the tax authorities and not yielding to their blackmail; follow the example of Beit Sahur in confronting tax collectors.
- Refuse to pay fines and bails.
- Be alert to the tactics of the Israeli intelligence, posing as journalists and using cars with local license plates in surveillance and arrest operations. Be alert to the poisonous rumors spread by the enemy intelligence and its agents.
- We praise the struggle of our masses in Jericho and El Auja. We call on them to firmly confront the false rumors spread by the occupation authorities to weaken their unity.
- We call for total boycott of Israeli recreation and tourist centers as means of besieging the Zionist economy.
- In the days before the blessed *Al Adha* holiday, Friday and Saturday, July 22nd and 23rd, stores will be open from the morning until 2 p.m. On the holidays, they will close at 2 p.m. Celebrations must be cancelled and only religious rites performed, to economize. The holiday sermon should be dedicated to the uprising and the dangers to the holy places.
- Factories can work at full capacity in coordination with the workers' committees, meanwhile protecting workers' rights, especially concerning overtime. Driving time for taxis and collective taxis is not limited to fixed hours, as in the case of the commercial sector, but they must abide by the general strikes.

We salute the strike forces for their efficient role in confronting the troops, apparatus and departments of the occupation, as well as those who have deviated from our people's will. We call for heavy blows to those who did not resign. The strike forces should close off the streets on days of general strike, allowing only doctors' cars to pass. They should write slogans and sign them in the name of the United National Leadership only. They should raise flags, organize demonstrations, burn tires and throw stones and molotovs.

We pledge to our revolution, our faithful martyrs and the

pillar of our struggle, the PLO, to continue the struggle and escalate the uprising on the road to freedom and independence. We call on our masses to carry out the following militant actions:

1. Hold mass rallies during the holidays, visit the martyrs' graves, place wreaths and raise the Palestinian flag over the graves; hold large demonstrations and visit the families of the martyrs, imprisoned, expelled and wounded.
2. Hold prayers on Fridays and Sundays for the martyrs' souls; conduct marches and demonstrations protesting the occupation's practices against our Islamic and Christian holy places.
3. July 29th is a general strike day in solidarity with the Palestinian women prisoners, protesting the repression to which they are exposed.
4. August 1st and 2nd are general strike days in solidarity with the expelled, condemning the repressive expulsion orders.
5. July 21 - August 5th are days for militant action and mass confrontation; consolidating popular authority, popular committees and popular education; and special activities in solidarity with those who have been harmed during the victorious uprising. We will abide by the martyrs' will - continuing to resist.

We shall be victorious.

Call No. 23
The Call of the Expelled
August 5, 1988

To our struggling Palestinian people,
To our masses of the victorious uprising:

Your uprising has entered its ninth month, realizing more and more achievements towards freedom and independence, towards achieving the just national aspirations of our people for repatriation, self - determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital. In fact, the Jordanian measures, dissolving the legal and administrative ties with the West Bank, are among the most important achievements of the great popular uprising. They are a complementary step fulfilling the decisions of the Algiers Summit and consolidating the PLO's position as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and the only party authorized to assume responsibility for them, in the homeland or in exile.

Jordan and all Arab countries are demanded to offer all necessary facilities to our people wherever they are, especially in the occupied territories, to enable them to continue their struggle and popular uprising. The main achievement, added to others, is that the uprising has cost the occupiers more than two million dollars in the economic field, and elicited three resolutions from the UN Security Council, which spoke for the first time about the occupied Palestinian territories. In addition, your uprising has exposed the racist fascist face of the occupation all over the world. It reasserted the legitimate national rights of our people at the Summit of the Uprising in Algiers, which the Amman summit had tried to deny. It is obvious that your uprising has made great progress in fragmenting the military government's apparatus, in order to build the national authority, represented by the popular committees through which you

have built the highest system of life based on cooperation and self-reliance. We must be proud of these achievements, and develop and protect them...

The visit of US envoy Murphy to the Middle East is only aimed to revive Shultz's plan after it was aborted by the uprising. We call on our masses to boycott any meeting with him or any other US envoy, because the US administration is still denying both the national rights of our people and the PLO as our sole legitimate representative. We call upon our people to receive Murphy with mass demonstrations and fierce confrontations against the occupation forces.

The United National Leadership and the masses of the uprising welcome Iran's agreement to Security Council resolution no. 598 concerning the Gulf War. We consider this as a positive step towards ending this war which has destroyed the two countries' material and human resources. This step is positive because it will end the war and expell the US troops. Putting an end to this war is a service to our popular uprising and national struggle, especially since Iraq now is scoring these victories in order to defend the eastern door of our Arab nation.

The United National Leadership, on behalf of our masses, salutes the leaders of our revolution and people, who are meeting now in Baghdad in the framework of the Palestinian Central Council... We highly evaluate their efforts to attain decisions supporting our uprising; we affirm national unity in the framework of the PLO, based on collective leadership and the decisions of the 18th session of the Palestinian National Council. We confirm the convening of a fully empowered international conference in which the PLO participates on an equal footing, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, to fulfill the national rights of the Palestinian people to repatriation, self - determination and an independent state on their national soil.

To our heroic people:

The Zionist enemy tries to convince itself that through expelling many of you from the homeland, it is able to put down the uprising. Yet you have proved over the last eight months, that the enemy's measures will not succeed. You have faced expulsion, house demolition, brutality, economic sanctions, an escalated war against the popular and national committees, the closing of the national institutions, and claims through the media and agents that the uprising has been suppressed and finished. So, all these measures will be overcome by your abilities to sacrifice and to give more and more.

In this light, the United National Leadership calls upon the masses of the uprising to confront the enemy and its departments, by:

- Persecuting the occupation's agents who have not resigned and those who have distributed the enemy's products. We confirm the boycott of work in Jewish settlements, and not to pay taxes, fines and bail.
- Strengthening the effectiveness of solidarity with detainees in the occupiers' jails, especially in Ansar III. The national committees have the main responsibility for organizing sit-ins and other suitable activities.
- We greet the people struggling for freedom and independence in Namibia, Chile and South Africa. We call upon those all over the world, whose conscience is still alive, to work for the release of the prisoners of freedom and conscience, first and foremost the militant Mandela.
- A salute to Jerusalem's masses for their defense of the capital of their state. We call upon them to gather around Al Haram Al Sharif (Al Aqsa) continuously, to prevent the occupation authorities from making excavations and to face any threat to our Islamic and Christian holy places.
- Expanding and consolidating the forms of disobeying the occupiers' orders to remove nationalist slogans, road blocks, barricades and flags. The masses should collectively confront

arrests, house demolitions and tax collection, as happened in Beit Furik, the town of heroes.
- Be aware of the occupation authorities' methods which aim to split the united stand of our merchants, tempting some of them to keep relations with the enemy's institutions through offering to exempt them from paying the fees for renewal of their driving licenses.
- We welcome the European Common Market's decision refusing to approve the renewal of the economic treaty with Israel.
- Palestinian farmers should not export their products through the Israeli AGREXCO company. In addition, we must be alert to some suspected figures who have relations with this company. We call for establishing national companies to export and import, as we call upon the national committees to market the local agricultural products and to establish marketing committees, with the aim of boycotting the Israeli companies. All those efforts aim to support the Palestinian farmers and to foil the enemy's attempts to prevent some areas from exporting their products.

The United National Leadership affirms that the closure of universities, institutes and schools, and ending the school year early, clearly reflects the authorities' aims to keep our people ignorant; consequently, we have no choice but to depend on ourselves and educate our people through organizing and developing popular education. Therefore, we ask our universities and teachers to look for a solution to continue university education, especially for those students who have only one year until graduation. We also ask the Higher Educational Council to assume its responsibilities and to reopen the universities and higher institutions.

We greet the Jewish doctors who refuse the occupiers' measures concerning the treatment of the injured of the uprising, and the journalists who are exposing the brutal suppression, because they have raised their voices loudly against the occupation. We call upon them to develop their

help to our just struggle, and create new awareness in the Israeli public of our rights, because a human being who accepts the repression of others can never be free.

We call on the nationalist and progressive forces behind the «green line» to end their differences and media war, and to unite their energies to serve our people's victorious uprising and realize our legitimate national rights.

We are proud of the march of the strike forces, raising the Palestinian flag, in the old city of Nablus - Jabal Al Nar. We highly evaluate the role of our masses in the Gaza camps in confronting the enemy's repressive policy. We also highly evaluate the role of our masses in Nablus, Jenin, Qabatiya, Husan, Qalqilya, Beit Sahur, Athna, Bethlehem, Beit Jala, Tulkarm, Jalazon, Al Amari, Duheisha, Jabalia, Shatta, Breij and everywhere. We call for raising the level of popular organization and consolidating the role of the popular and specialized committees and the strike forces. We call on all to escalate the uprising and implement the following:

1. August 8th is a day of solidarity with the Palestinian prisoners, especially those in Ansar III. On this day, solidarity must be organized; the women's organizations should have their duties on this level.
2. August 9th is a general strike day on the occasion of the uprising's entry into its ninth month.
3. August 10th is an information day in the occupied territories, to explain the uprising's achievements and demands on the popular and international levels. Journalists should play a prominent role in this field.
4. On August 11th the national and popular committees should evaluate their role in order to improve it, and to outline a suitable program in order to develop the uprising.
5. August 17th is Jerusalem Day, a general strike day for the capital of our Palestinian state, to protest the mass arrests and suppression imposed on our people.
6. August 21st is the 20th anniversary of the burning of Al Aqsa mosque. We must denounce this ugly attempt and the

excavations which dishonor our holy land. This is declared the Day of Al Aqsa for demonstrations and confrontation of the occupation authorities.
7. August 22nd is a general strike day in solidarity with our merchants, to protest the authorities' practices against them.

Escalate the confrontation of the occupation soldiers, apparatus and agents.
For increasing solidarity to maintain revolutionary authority.
We shall be victorious.

CIRCULAR

No one is to speak or issue communiques on behalf of the United National Leadership without our knowledge or consent. Be aware of statements allegedly signed by the United National Leadership.

Call No. 24
The Call of the Martyrs Behind Bars
August 22,1988

To the masses of the great uprising:

The uprising has entered its thirty-sixth week, strong and generous, declaring to the whole world that there is no retreat from the achievements realized by our people on the way to establishing an independent Palestinian state in our homeland under the PLO's leadership.

To our people:

In an attempt to quell the uprising, terrorist Rabin and his unsuccessful government resorted to banning the popular committees and threatening the members with detention and expulsion; this is clearly due to the prominent role of these committees in confirming independent popular authority and fragmenting the occupation's authority. The popular committees are one of the people's creations during the uprising, and a natural result of their struggle. Rabin thinks that he can suppress the uprising with collective expulsions and prolonged imprisonment, but events have shown that he is wrong. It is clear that our people have foiled this ban as they previously foiled the ban on youth committees and the closure of institutions, trade unions and associations. The response of our people will be very decisive: They will form more committees in all villages, towns, camps and neighborhoods. All our people will be popular committees, for these are vital and will not be abandoned.

Rabin's attempt to enact a collective expulsion of our cadres, on the pretext of their participation and leadership in the popular committees, shows clearly that he is trying to execute the so-called «transfer policy» advocated by the fascist parties. Does Rabin really think that this policy will abort the uprising? Every expelled militant will be replaced

by dozens of other cadres. As always, the method of expulsion will fail. On the contrary, our people's response will be more escalation and development of the uprising. Our people's militants who have suffered from this policy know that their expulsion will not last long. They will return to their homeland, to the independent Palestinian state soon. The whole world is more than ever aware of the importance of resolving regional conflicts. As racist occupiers were defeated in Namibia, the occupation will also be defeated in our homeland, in order to build an independent Palestinian state, with Jerusalem as its capital.

To our struggling people, to the people of heroic Gaza:

The occupation's attempts to impose curfew in the Gaza Strip, and to prevent journalists from entering, has been totally unsuccessful. It is an attempt to kill the uprising in its first year. But the response of the people in the Strip was decisive. Thousands took to the streets and collectively confronted the occupation army, denouncing the horrible massacre by burning of three Palestinian workers (in Tel Aviv). The whole world knew what was going on in Gaza, despite he occupation's attempts (to suppress this). The response of the people in the Strip is a model to be followed by our people in order to enact total national disobedience.

To our people in Ansar III and the Zionist jails:

Glory to you, you have faced the enemy unarmed, with your thin bodies. you have nothing to fight with but your great conviction in your people and just struggle. Glory to the martyrs of the uprising behind bars, those martyred in Ansar III and those martyred under torture in Al Maskubiya and Dhahiriya. The enemy's attempt to kill our struggling people reflects the hysteria in Israel because of the continuation of the uprising. Our people in the homeland, in the occupied territories - the big prison - and everywhere, have great conviction that you will continue the

struggle against the enemy's humiliation. Your struggle is a part of your people's struggle to attain our legitimate rights and national independence.

To all those who defy subjugation:

On behalf of our people in the jails, under curfew, and the families, children and women who are suffering from the occupation's suppressive measures, the United National Leadership of the Uprising calls upon international public opinion and all human rights organizations to stand beside our struggling people and exert pressure on the occupation authorities to put an end to the collective expulsion policy -transfer- and to close Ansar III and release the prisoners; there are now over 3,000 prisoners in Ansar which is very similar to Nazi jails. Based on this fact, we demand the international community to play a role and assume its responsibility for providing international protection for our unarmed people. We also ask the Israeli public to be aware that the policy based on suppression and brutality against our people, as practiced by Rabin, Shamir and Peres, will harm them.

To our struggling masses:

The United National Leadership reaffirms that Jordan's decision to dissolve the legal and administrative ties with the occupied West Bank is one of the most important achievements of the uprising; it asserted a Palestinian right which had been usurped over forty years of annexation and mandate. We also reassert that there is no political vacuum in the West Bank, because our people trust the PLO as their legitimate representative and only political leader. We salute the Palestinian National Council in its (upcoming) emergency session. We are fully confident that the council will adopt a clear and comprehensive political program, in order to attain international support for our national rights.

We are also fully confident that this council will find practical methods to support and develop the uprising.

We also reaffirm that the PLO, with its central leading bodies, is the political representative of our people's aspirations. A just solution of the Palestinian problem can only be attained through holding a fully empowered international conference with the PLO participating on an equal footing with other concerned parties.

To our people behind the «green line»:

The United National Leadership again calls upon you to get rid of secondary problems and to stop the propaganda war, in order to stand collectively against the suppressive policy to destroy the Palestinian Arab identity, and foil the hysterical Zionist campaigns against your leaders.

To our brave people:

We salute our militant people in Tulkarm, Azoun, Balata, Nablus, Qabatiya, Kufr Malik, Duheisha, Kalandia, Beit Sahur, Jalazon, Amari, Barka, Beit Jala, Bethlehem, Bani Naim, Dhahiriya, Aroub, and all our people in the heroic Gaza Strip. We salute the martyrs of the uprising behind bars (those martyred in detention), and call on the masses to adhere to the following principles.

- Popular education: We invite all teachers and students, in schools, universities and especially elementary schools, to try their best to make the popular education campaigns successful,in order to foil the occupation's policy of closing the schools and keeping our people ignorant. Popular education is a national responsibility and we must abide by it.
- Rumors and suspicious statements: We call upon you to abide only by central, reasonable calls; you must be aware of suspicious calls. In this light, we warn of the enemy's attempts to create problems between the nationalist and religious forces, as lately happened in the Gaza Strip when the enemy tried to burn a car belonging to a person in the

Islamic Assembly. We also warn of defamation practiced against our noble citizens, and the instigation of family feuds in the name of the national cause, as happened in the Gaza Strip and Tulkarm. We also demand that you watch over our people's property and be alert to the robbers created by the enemy in an unsuccessful attempt to convince our people of the importance of the police department.

- National and agricultural products: We reaffirm the boycott of Israeli agricultural products, in order to buy national agricultural products. We also call on the owners of shops, and vegetable and fruit vendors, to abide by the call.
- Winter agriculture: We call upon our masses to continue their struggle to reclaim land in order to be ready in the coming winter; to plant these lands with grains, wheat etc., to be stored.
- Medical fees: In view of the difficult conditions our people are going through, we call on private hospitals and doctors to tangibly decrease treatment fees.
- Positive Initiatives: We greatly appreciate the many positive initiatives taken by the popular and national committees in all areas, consistent with the program of escalating the uprising, such as declaring the transportation strike in the Gaza Strip; the distribution of forms to the merchants in the North, in order to count Israeli products and confirm the principle of boycotting them; and the distribution of free medicines and medical treatment cards to the harmed families in Hebron (Al Khalil), to enable them to get medical treatment at lower fees.

To our masses of the uprising:

The United National Leadership is proud of our masses' and strike forces' fierce ongoing confrontation of the occupation troops, apparatus and settlers. We call upon the masses to carry out the following activities:

- August 23rd is the Day of the Expelled/Molotov Day; all

the masses must be mobilized, denouncing the expulsion policy.
- August 24th and 25th are general strike days in commemoration of the martyrs of the uprising behind bars.
- August 26th is the commemoration of the Boraq revolt in 1929; we call upon our masses to commemorate this anniversary and to carry out great activities.
- August 27th is a day for the strike forces to strike those who were asked to resign and didn't.
- August 30th is a general strike day in solidarity with the expelled.
- August 31st is a general strike day protesting the burning of three Palestinian workers by fascists in Tel Aviv.
- On September 1st, prisoners must go on hunger strike, protesting the horrible situation in jails. Our people must also fast and stage sit-ins in the headquarters of international organizations.
- The first week of September is a week of popular committees, dedicated to developing and building more committees.
- Fridays and Sundays are dedicated to praying for the souls of the martyrs of the uprising.

Towards increasing unity and escalating the popular uprising till we achieve national independence.

Call No. 25
The Call of the Martyrs of the Massacres
September 7, 1988

To the masses of our people:

The uprising has completed its ninth month and is entering its tenth with strength and more determination to continue and escalate despite all the fascist suppression: collective punishment, the policy of starvation, economic siege, home demolition, mass arrests, expulsions, bulldozing living quarters, assassinating militants, destruction of property and exended curfews.

Your great popular uprising continues on a daily basis with vigor and comprehensiveness - damaging and dismantling the apparatus of the occupation and erecting in its place popular national authority represented by the popular committees and the United National Leadership. On the threshold of its tenth month, the uprising has made new achievements, added to the political achievements of the previous months. The US administration has backed down in panic from its decision to close the PLO's mission at the UN. UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, after meeting with PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat, confirmed the Palestinian people's rights in the land of Palestine. Meanwhile, the Security Council recently denounced anew the policy of expulsion. These achievements accumulated while the Non-Governmental Organizations were meeting in Geneva, adopting resolutions concerning the uprising. First and foremost among these resolutions was the one asserting the importance of providing international protection for our people, which is a main slogan of the uprising. Added to this, the Israeli Chief-of-Staff Shomron recently declared that there is no military solution to the uprising. Also Avraham Tamir, director-general of the Israeli foreign

ministry, declared that the PLO represents the Palestinians whether the Israelis want to admit it or not.

To all this is added the settlers' hysterical fear of the molotovs and stones, which has led to the evacuation of some settlements, despite the promises of the terrorist Rabin and the arrogant Shamir to provide more protection for settlers and authorizing them to fire on Palestinians. Moreover, the deterioration of the enemy's economy is evident in the statements of the economic and planning experts in the Zionist ministries.

To the masses of our heroic people:

The occupation authorities are making sneaky attempts to enact the transfer policy via "provisional expulsions," meaning to expell militants for varying periods of time, whereby they have to sign a document promising not to engage in any form of struggle and to guarantee calm in their area of residence in order to be able to return to their homeland. This is a clear violation of the Geneva Convention concerning occupied territories. This policy does not differ from the expulsion policy which was denounced by the Security Council and the world. We call on our masses to confront this policy.

To our heroic people:

In these days, you are bitterly remembering the massacres of Black September (Jordan 1970) and Sabra and Shatila, in which tens of thousands of our people in exile were killed. These massacres were added to those of Deir Yasin, Qibya, Daweima and Kafr Qasim which all aimed at obliterating the national identity of our people. Today, you declare to the butchers: "You will reap nothing but the curse of history and humanity."

We are now stronger than ever before, because we have emerged from these massacres with our heads held high above the wounds. We have continued the march begun by

our predecessors, first and foremost the militants Sheikh Izz Al Din Al Qassam and Abdul Qader Al Husseini.

To our militant masses:

We join with the masses of the occupied territories in praising the wise decision taken by the PLO to pay the salaries of the employees, that were cut off by the Jordanian regime. We also praise Colonel Moamar Qaddafi's genuine decision in this respect. We call on the leaders at the Algiers Summit to abide by their political, informational and financial obligations towards the uprising, the PLO and the Palestinian cause.

We salute the PNC in its emergency session, asserting the importance of taking firm and major political decisions on the basis of the Palestinian national principles, and amassing all potentials to protect and develop the achievements of the uprising and revolution, in order to fulfill our people's national rights to repatriation, self-determination and an independent state in our homeland, led by the PLO.

To the masses and strike forces of the uprising:

We are proud of the march of the 20,000 through Gaza's streets, challenging the curfew. We are proud of the masses of Jabal al Nar (Nablus) who acted in a similar manner, and the strike forces in Yatta who carried out the people's judgement on one had sold himself to the occupation and betrayed his homeland and people. We call on the masses to work according to the following directives in their daily struggle.

A. THE INTERNATONAL COMMUNITY AND THE UN

We call on the UN, the Security Council and all international bodies to intervene immediately to stop the occupation's violations of international laws, conventions and

norms; and to provide protection against the suppression, murder and hysterical campaigns which target our people's very existence. We demand that the occupied territories be put under an international mandate until Israeli withdrawal and the convening of a fully empowered international conference with the PLO participating on equal footing with the other parties.

B. THE CLOSURE OF INSTITUTIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS

After closing educational institutions and trade unions, the occupation authorities closed many other institutions and associations, including charitable societies, particularly after Jordan dissolved administrative and legal ties with the Palestinian West Bank. These closures reflect the occupiers' fear of any Palestinian institution which they see as part of popular authority and a Palestinian state. We call on all the institutions, associations and unions to foil these closure decisions by continuing their work.

C. EDUCATION

Since the occupation authorities are closing educational institutions with the aim of keeping the Palestinians ignorant, we call on our masses to struggle for reopening these institutions. Students should not leave the country in search of education at this stage. We call on UNESCO, the Arab states and international organizations to discuss this important matter at the highest levels, including in the Security Council, because depriving a people of education is a savage measure in violation of the most basic rights of man guaranteed by international norms and conventions, first and foremost the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 4th Geneva Convention. We assert the importance of consolidating and developing popular education as the most practical and efficient response to the Zionist policy of enforcing ignorance.

D. POPULAR COMMITTEES

We assert the importance of continuing to build independent popular authority on the way to freedom and independence. We call on our masses to join these committees on a broader scale, because this is the only way to foil the occupation's decision to ban them; it is the only way to foil the repressive campaign aimed at frightening our masses in order to isolate and strike the committees.

E. PURSUING TRAITORS

We praise the strike forces, the nucleus of the popular committees, for pursuing traitors in Yatta, Hebron, Jenin camp, Qabatiya, Biddya, Jalazon, Jabalia, Deir Al Balah, etc, and carrying out the judgement of the uprising and the people on some of them. We call on the strike forces to continue purging the internal front of those who have sold themselves and their honor to the occupation, thus betraying their people and homeland.

F. THE FASCIST MOUNTED POLICE

We call on our masses in Jerusalem, the capital of our independent Palestinian state, to strongly confront the aggression of the fascist mounted police against the peasants who sell their produce at Bab Al Amoud and Bab Al Sahira, in order to earn their living. These vicious police beat the peasants and take their produce to feed it to their horses right before their eyes.

G. THE MONEY CHANGERS

We demand that money changers stop spreading rumors which create panic among the masses' as happened in these days, whereby simple people were led to risk their savings, the fruit of their life's work, by exchanging dinars (Jordanian) for dollars. Anyone who participates in creating this state of panic is consciously or unconsciously facilitating the US and Israeli banks' blackmail of our people.

H. MERCHANTS

We call on the heroic merchants to form more merchants' committees and develop the existing ones, in order to consolidate the boycott of taxes and to collectively confront the tax collectors' savagery, consolidating the economic boycott of the enemy. This was the essence of the statement made by the merchants' committees in the occupied territories. We also call on our merchants in the Gaza Strip not to yield to the orders of the occupation authorities for putting signs on their doors with detailed information on the merchant, his address, etc.

I. STREET VENDING

We call for street vending to be arranged in accordance with the opening and closing times of the shops, because constant street vending violates the partial commercial strike. The strike forces should organize this.

J. RENT

We call on landlords to lower rents by 25%, tenants should pay what is asked of them promptly without evasion.

To the masses of the uprising and the strike forces:

We pity the Israelis due to the confusion of their leaders as a result of the uprising's escalation. This was recently evident when Sharon proposed the expulsion of the families of stonethrowers, and Arens proposed to ban Palestinians from walking on the streets to end stonethrowing, and to give the green light to the settlers to open fire on Palestinians. We call on them (the Israelis) to tell us why they remain blind to the truth... Don't they know the problem of stonethrowing will not be solved unless they leave our land and recognize our legitimate national rights to self-determination and an independent state; the solution is not through repression... We salute the Palestinians who gave the stones a

militant revolutionary significance. Let more stones and molotovs rain down on the heads of the enemy troops and settlers, everywhere and at all times. We call on you to carry out the following:

1. September 8th is a day of general strike on the occasion of the uprising vigorously entering its tenth month.
2. September 10th is a day of solidarity with the societies, institutions and trade unions that have been closed; sit- ins should be held in front of their headquarters.
3. September 13th is a day for sit-ins in European consulates in Jerusalem and memoranda to the European governments, calling for international protection and supervision in the occupied territories, because on this day brother Abu Ammar is speaking at the European Parliament in Strassborg.
4. September 15th is a day for purging the internal front of agents and traitors; those who have yet to resign from the occupation authorities' departments should be pursued in order to hasten their resignation.
5. September 17th is a day of general strike on the occasion of the Sabra-Shatila massacre, and to commemorate the martyrs of all the massacres enacted against our people.
6. September 18th is a day of confrontation in protest of the massacres going on against our people.
7. September 22nd is a day for consolidating popular authority, forming more popular committees on the way to declaring an independent state, on the anniversary of the declaration of the All-Palestine government in 1948.
8. September 26th is a day of general strike in solidarity with the prisoners, protesting the existence of Ansar III.

Together in struggle until achieving the aspirations of our people to freedom and independence.
Victory is inevitable.

Call No. 26
The Call of Palestine
September 27, 1988

To the masses of our militant people:

In its tenth month, your uprising has attained a new achievement at the meeting of the non - aligned countries. The meeting confirmed your just demands and called for total Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories which should be placed under international supervision for an interim period, in preparation for our people to exercise their right to self - determination. In its meeting with the Palestinian delegation headed by brother Abu Ammar and his historical speech, the European Parliament confirmed the necessity of achieving a just and comprehensive solution of the Palestinian question. This enlarges the circle of those dealing with the PLO and recognizing it as the sole, legitimate representative of our people. The Zionist enemy, in the person of Shamir, has again been forced to admit that it is impossible to put an end to the uprising by military force.

To our heroic people:

The continuation of your popular uprising is the guarantee for breaking down the US administration's hostility and forcing it to abandon its arrogance and the unacceptable conditions it tries to impose on the PLO, our sole, legitimate representative. Just as your uprising has buried the conspiracy of the condominium plan and the Jordanian option, and forced King Hussein to acknowledge defeat in the occupied Palestinian territories, so it will foil every option aimed to replace the Palestinian option, and force Israel to acknowledge our inalienable national rights. Let US imperialism, which supports our enemy to the utmost, know that it is required to make concessions to our people,

not the contrary. Let the US be forced to recognize the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and recognize our rights to repatriation, self - determination and the establishment of an independent state on our national soil with Jerusalem as its capital.

Let Israel know that its tyranny is not greater than our stones. It cannot extinguish the light of hope in our children's eyes. Israel is not stronger than the US, and our people are not weaker than the people of Vietnam.

To the masses of the uprising:

We are a free and militant people. Our glorious uprising has taught us that through struggle and sacrifice we can inflict great political and economic losses on the enemy, changing the occupation from a source of profit into a source of loss, and thus making a real change in the balance of forces, locally and internationally. Only in this way we make further gains towards freedom and independence. The uprising is the strongest voice of protest against the Arab official weakness. You have loudly declared: No to the occupation - Yes one thousand times over to freedom and independence. From your voice, the United National Leadership has formulated its successive calls, and your overall and immediate demands. We call on the UN General Assembly in its 43rd session to recognize the national rights of our people and take all possible measures for applying them and forcing Israel to abide by the following:

1. Israeli withdrawal from the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied in 1967, including Arab Jerusalem.
2. Annulling all annexation measures and removing all settlements built in the occupied territories.
3. Placing the occupied Palestinian territories under UN supervision in order to provide protection for our people, for a period not to exceed a few months, in preparation for the Palestinian people fully exercising their right of self - determination.

4. Convening a fully empowered international conference under UN auspices, on the basis of its resolutions related to the Palestinian question which is the essence of the Middle East conflict, in preparation for total Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories which are to be placed under UN supervision, and the convening of the international conference. Israel should be forced to abide by the following:

A. Immediate implementation of UN Security Council resolutions 605, 607 and 608.

B. Annulling the Emergency Laws of 1945, as well as all decrees and military orders of local and foreign laws.

C. Withdrawal of the army from Palestinian residential areas.

D. Release of all those detained during the uprising and the return of all those expelled.

E. Enacting free elections for municipal and village councils under UN supervision.

F. Implementing the 4th Geneva Convention of 1949 and all international conventions regulating the relations of the occupier to the occupied territories.

G. Stopping the extermination measures against our people, including the economic blockade, killing, house demolition, torture, expulsions, administrative detention and settlement - building.

To the masses of our militant people:

The only way to achieve these legitimate demands and force the arrogant enemy to acknowledge them, is to increase the struggle on all levels, escalating the uprising and maintaining the initiative. Therefore, we call for abiding by the following program of work:

THE OCCUPATION'S OFFENSIVE

Being ready for the occupation's raids by strengthening mass activity and the strike forces, the guarding and popular committees, as well as reinforcing clandestinity and coming

out collectively in the streets, as in the free Nablus where the youth groups came out masked in an organized march. We salute them and the masses of the uprising in Qalqilya, Tulkarm, Anabta, Kafar Malik and the Gaza Strip where the merchants refused the authorities' orders to write their names and addresses on their shop doors.

THE UPRISING'S INITIATIVE

The uprising should take the initiative through escalating the struggle against the appointed municipal and village councils, boycotting the civil administration en masse, including its Arab employees, and striking collaborators, following the heroic examples of Gaza, Nablus, Jenin, Yatta, Sinjil and others.

POPULAR EDUCATION

The objective of popular education is not only to complete the school curriculum, but to wipe out ignorance among the elderly and to spread the national culture in every home and quarter without fear of the enemy. The administration of every educational institution is called upon to contribute to defining the methods for raising the level of those who are teaching in the popular education classes. Our slogan is: Knowledge for resistance.

WORKERS

We call on the workers to strengthen their adherence to the work boycott on general strike days and to refuse to follow the Zionist plans for them to stay inside the green line on the night before a general strike, in order to protect themselves from acts of revenge as have been committed against three of our workers.

MERCHANTS AND FACTORIES

We confirm the tax boycott. The merchants' committees should follow this matter and reinforce the boycott of Israeli

goods for which there are local substitutes, by publishing lists of these goods, guaranteeing against price increases, meanwhile decreasing the prices of the national products and having a set price for the citizens. We call on employers to pay wages and salaries in full, as they were when opening hours were defined, and taking the general strike days into consideration.

AGRICULTURE AND COOPERATIVES

We call for collective work to gather and press the olives, and for encouraging the cooperative system, in order to make use of every Palestinian olive. We also call on the farmers and merchants to sell the olive oil locally at reasonable prices, since it is our oil, and we will consume it if we cannot export it.

THE INTERNAL FRONT

We confirm the need for strengthening the unity of our internal front, for this has destroyed all forms of repression and terror. We call on the masses to stand against all forms of sectarianism which the occupation and its agents try to incite. We affirm that the authorities' attempts to promote some as a force equal to the United National Leadership, will not succeed.

THE PURSUED

We salute those of our people who are pursued (by the occupation), those who have rebelled against arrest orders; we call on the masses to support them.

To the masses of our sacrificing people:

We greatly appreciate our brave masses in steadfast Qalqilya, who have planted fear in the hearts of the cowardly settlers with their stones and molotovs, who have shaken the entity of the generals of the Zionist repression, and responded to the repressive measures by escalating their

struggle. We appreciate the rebellious masses of Khan Yunis, who confronted Rabin, the minister of repression, and his collaborators. Therefore, we call on the popular and specialized committees and the strike forces to define a timetable for struggle which suits the local conditions, in order to carry out the following:

1. Escalating the daily confrontation of the occupation troops and settlers, and destroying the enemy's property.
2. Continuing to purge the internal front of traitors.
3. Activating voluntary work to help the farmers in the olive season.
4. Solidarity with places under siege by revolutionizing and activating all places, providing food and medical supplies and taking care of the crops.
5. Solidarity with those who have suffered in the course of the uprising - prisoners, those whose houses were destroyed or who were fired from their work, through visits, sit - ins and support work.
6. October 3rd is a general strike day protesting the authorities' continued closure of educational institutions. October 9th is a general strike day on the occasion of the uprising entering its eleventh month.

For more unity, struggle and confrontation.
Together towards achieving the inalienable national rights of our people.
We shall be victorious.

Call No. 27
The Call of the PNC
October 9, 1988

To the masses of the uprising, you who imposed international isolation on the Zionist enemy:

The uprising enters its eleventh month with confidence in the inevitability of achieving our inalienable rights of repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of an independent national state under the leadership of the PLO, our sole legitimate representative. The uprising continues despite the tireless attempts of the Zionist enemy to abort its strength, in particular their latest policy of total raid on Saturdays and on the total strike days, coupled with killings, arrests, torturing old men, women and children, and besieging cities, villages and camps for extended periods. All that is an expression of the dilemma which the occupation is experiencing, and the extent of its losses on all levels.

To the torch bearers of the independent Palestinian state:

As your uprising is continuing in the battlefield, our historical leadership, the PLO, is wasting no time in transforming our daily achievements into international ones. Day after day, this will increase the isolation of the enemy and its supporter, US imperialism. As the Palestinian struggle is continuing, our leadership is preparing to convene the extraordinary 19th session of the PNC. Its resolutions will constitute a new weapon in the hands of the Palestinian masses and the people of the uprising for freedom and independence. We are confident that the PNC will approve the proper steps to fill the vacuum resulting from the Jordanian decisions, and take steps towards liberation capable of materializing the slogans of the uprising, freedom and independence, in order to attain more and more international

support for our inalienable rights. The United National Leadership, the militant arm of the PLO in the occupied territories, is fully confident that the decisions and programs the PNC will adopt, despite hostile forces and their allies trying to block them, will put an end to the attempts to prevent the PLO from representing our people through an independent delegation at a fully empowered international conference, on equal footing with other parties. These decisions will enable the PLO to be effective on the international level, as happened with the visit of brother Yasir Arafat to the European Parliament in Strasburg last month. Therefore, we call on the masses of the uprising to organize mass demonstrations everywhere in the occupied territories during the days of the PNC, and to send telegrams and letters of support. On the occasion of the anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations, which occurs this month, the United National Leadership calls on the UN to shoulder its responsibility for enforcing its resolutions which guarantee our people's right to repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of an independent state under the leadership of the PLO. On this occasion, we congratulate the UN General Secretary and all peoples who are supporting our rights. We confirm the necessity of achieving the following legitimate demands:

1. withdrawal of the occupation troops from Palestinian residential areas;
2. annulling all decrees of the occupation and Mandate, and the Emergency Laws;
3. stopping the policy of settlement - building and annexation, and. removing the existing settlements;
4. release of all those detained during the uprising, and closing the military detention centres; and
5. international protection for the unarmed Palestinian people for an interim period of not more than a few months, in preparation for our people to establish an independent state with Jerusalem as its capital.

To the masses of the uprising:

The United National Leadership appreciates your confrontation of the Zionist repression, the policies of raid, siege and plastic bullets; this greatly perplexed the enemy generals. We highly appreciate the stand of our masses in the brave city of Hebron, who are heroically facing the occupation troops and settlers, showing that Hebron will not be defiled by Levinger and his scoundrels. We appreciate the stand of the masses in the steadfast Gaza Strip, who challenged the curfew orders, and transformed funerals into strong demonstrations against the occupation and its agents. Great salutations to all our masses in the occupied territories!

To the people of the Palestinian state:

The enemy's continued development of its repressive means against the uprising requires more than ever that we reinforce the unity of our people under the banner of the PLO, and adhere to the decisions and programs of its leading bodies. On this occasion, the United National Leadership calls on all militants to unify their efforts in order to foil the enemy's plan to sever the national ranks. For developing programs of the struggle to firmly face the brutal offensive of the enemy, we call on you to carry out the following activities:

EDUCATION

The decision of the occupation authorities to again close schools, universities and institutions, prevents tens of thousands of our youth from practicing their right to education, as stipulated in local and international laws. This decision expresses the anxiety of the occupation authorities about the weapon of education. We call on all international and human rights institutions, in particular the UNESCO, for immediate intervention to put an end to the occupation authorities' policy of enforcing ignorance. We call on the

Higher Education Council, the administrations of universities and institutions, the teachers' union and committees, the families of students and the student councils to shoulder their responsibility and launch a broad media campaign to expose the occupation policy via memoranda and sit- ins at the UN headquarters, foreign embassies, universities and schools, demanding the unconditional reopening of schools, universities and institutes. We call on Palestinian academics and educators to prepare work programs and comprehensive educational plans for spreading popular education in all quarters, villages, camps and cities, in order to confront the occupiers' policy of ignorance.

AGRICULTURE:

This being the season for gathering olives, the masses are called on to help the peasants with this. The cooperative system is a fine tradition in our popular heritage. Let us practice it.

MERCHANTS:

We appreciate the merchants' refusal to pay taxes, their abiding by the times for opening shops from 8 to 12, and the militant masses' boycott of the Israeli products which can be replaced locally. We renew our call for adherence to the directions we have issued. The merchants' committees are required to take care of that.

THE INTERNAL FRONT:

The United National Leadership demands that no calls be issued except those in its name. We call on our masses to be alert to suspicious slogans written on the walls, threatening letters and telephone calls, since they are issued by hostile sources.

POPULAR COMMITTEES:

These committees are required to solve any internal dis-

agreements which arise, to strengthen their internal structure, follow up food supply affairs, and concentrate on the establishment of guarding committees.

DOCTORS:

The United National Leadership demands that all general practitioners and specialists receive the wounded and the sick in these hard conditions in which injuries increase during the day. Therefore, we demand you to limit fees to 12 shekels or less.

LAWYERS:

You are called upon to distribute the work which concerns the detainees among yourselves, to establish legal committees to defend the detainees, and to hold press conferences in order to expose detention conditions.

RESISTING RAIDS

The popular committees and strike forces bear responsibility for resisting the policy of total raids via alertness, caution, creating new forms of resistance and helping all those who are wanted and pursued by the occupation authorities.

To the masses of the uprising:

We call on you to carry out the following tasks and activities of struggle:

- Friday, October 14th, is a general strike day commemorating the Qibya massacre(1953). Wednesday, October 19th, is a general strike day to protest the settlers' practices against unarmed civilians with the support of the occupation troops. Wednesday, October 26th, is a general strike day for the remembrance of the Kufr Qassim massacre(1956).
- Wednesday, October 12th, is the beginning of the campaign of gathering the olives in all parts of the occupied homeland; it will continue until the end of the season.

- Saturday, October 15th, is a day of solidarity with the besieged areas.
- Monday, October 24th, is a day of sit - ins at the UN headquarters, demanding it to force Israel to adhere to the UN resolutions related to the Palestinian cause.
- Saturday, October 29th, is also a day of solidarity with the besieged areas, and for confronting the raid campaigns. Friday and Sunday, after prayers, are days of confrontation, demonstrations, marches and visits to the martyrs' graves and to the wounded in clinics.

The uprising continues until our people attain freedom and independence.

Call No. 28
The Call of Independence
October 30, 1988

To the militant Palestinian masses; to the masses of the heroic uprising:

You have scored one victory after another and taught the enemy a lesson. You have carried the torch of the uprising which since its inception has raised the slogan of ending the occupation. With your determination and persistence, you have confirmed that the uprising will escalate until the Palestinian flag is raised over the minarets and church spires of Jerusalem, the capital of the independent Palestinian state, led by the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of our people. You have confirmed that there will be no compromising of our people's indispensable rights to repatriation, self-determination and an independent state. We salute the leaders of the struggling Palestinian masses who are confronting the occupying Nazis. We revere the blood that has been shed to water our land, and the sweat of the prisoners in the Zionists' repressive prisons, which has mingled with the soil of the homeland. The martyrs are one with the wounded, the prisoners and the people in the besieged Palestinian camps, villages and cities. All are determined to go on towards free Arab Palestine. The uprising is entering its 11th month with pride and escalation. Day after day, confusion increases in the ranks of the occupation which has resorted to all forms of repression-breaking bones, extended curfews, indiscriminate collective detention and, most recently, storming villages on days of general strike. In this way, they thought they could quell the uprising, but with organized mass action we were able to foil all of these policies. This forced the occupation to form death squads for targeting our militants, in harmony with the threats

made by the terrorist Shamir, in his election campaign, to annihilate the Palestinians.

To our heroic masses:

We have now entered the 11th month of our giant uprising which has made the Palestinian cause and legitimate national rights a top priority at all Arab and international conferences, most recently the Summit of the Uprising in Algeria. The uprising has exposed the true face of the occupation as being fascist, terrorist and racist on a par with South Africa. Arab and international support to our cause has increased as was obvious at the Strasborg meeting, when the speech of brother Yasir Arafat elicited international support and solidarity. In these days, in view of international detente and following the Jordanian regime's severing ties with the West Bank, creating a legal and administrative vacuum, the Palestinian National Council is about to convene in an urgent session, to discuss the uprising and the possibilities for escalating it. From the heart of the occupied territories and on behalf of the heroic people of the uprising, we salute the PNC which will commence its session in Algeria on November 12th. We confirm that our masses have great confidence in our leaders; in their decisions, the masses will find a new weapon for escalating the uprising, and an expression of our aspirations for freedom and independence. These resolutions will have great influence in the political, diplomatic and media fields, consolidating the previous achievements of the uprising, especially the absoluteness of the Palestinian option as represented in achieving the legitimate Palestinian rights to repatriation, self - determination and an independent state, under the leadership of the PLO. We call on our militiant masses to further escalate the uprising, form more popular committees and strike forces, and further impose popular authority - the revolutionary alternative to the occupation's authority. The enemy understands only the language of violence. Therefore, the

more the flames of the uprising rage, the closer we are to victory, and the more our leadership and cause gain diplomatic status. We call on all countries, international organizations and liberation movements to support the resolutions to be adopted at the PNC, to support the PLO and its program with all means. We call on the international community to shoulder its ethical and human responsibilities towards the Palestinian people in our battle to achieve our legitimate rights and self-determination, and to work seriously for convening a fully empowered international conference with the PLO participating in an independent delegation on equal footing with other parties. Until then, we call for sending international emergency forces to protect the Palestinian masses from the occupation forces' annihilation, economic siege, repression of freedoms and imprisonment.

To the masses of the independent Palestinian state, to the giants of the uprising:

In these days, we are living a significant period in the history of the Palestinian cause. As the uprising goes forward to popular revolution, we call for the following:

THE INTERNAL FRONT:

We call on our masses for more national unity which has been consolidated by the blood of our faithful martyrs. We will by no means allow any toying with this law (of national unity), no matter what the justifications. We call on the masses to abide by the calls of the United National Leadership, the militant arm of the PLO in the occupied territories, and to rally around its program. We extend our hands to all in order that all potentials and trends be channeled in the same direction: confronting the Zionist occupation and its liquidationist schemes. We call our masses' attention to the following:

a. We highly evaluate the stands of the popular committees

that asked property owners to lower rents by 25%. At the same time, we ask tenants to pay without evasion.

b. We salute the Palestinian masses in the camps of the steadfast Gaza Strip and Al Amari camp that have been under extended curfew. We also salute the masses of Nablus, the capital of Jabal Al Nar, for their bravery and support to the families of the martyrs and those whose homes were dynamited.

c. We call on our merchants and accountants to activate accounting committees, as has been done is some areas, to supervise their work and boycott of the occupation's institutions and taxes. We call for more boycott of Zionist products.

d. We warn the masses of the suspicious statements allegedly signed by the United National Leadership, most recently, the statement distributed by the enemy's intelligence a few days ago.

e. We warn our masses of some groups calling themselves charitable societies, but which in reality are serving the occupation and spreading degenerate ethics among our people.

f. We call on the masses to assist the peasants in picking the olives.

2. ANSAR III PRISON, THE NAQAB

There are thousands of our sons and brothers in administrative detention in Ansar III; they are suffering from the worst inhuman conditions due to the climate and harsh treatment. We in this call expose the savagery of the occupation and its repressive tools, that has reached the point of firing live ammunition on our unarmed militants, particularly by the prison administrator himself, who is called "Tsemeh". We call on all people of conscience, local and international humanitarian institutions, and the International Committee of the Red Cross to work for implementation of the 4th Geneva Convention concerning prisoners, to expose

the illegality of these detentions and to demand the closure of the neo-Nazi camp.. in the Naqab desert. In this prison, Palestinians are exposed to the burning sun and the freezing cold, to snakes and scorpians. We hold the occupation authorities responsible for the continuation of this policy which will only make us hate them more. We also hold them responsible for whatever may happen, because the situation is unbearable.

3. EDUCATION

The occupation's policy of keeping our people ignorant by continuous closure of universities, institutes and schools, will only motivate us to develop popular education. Our right to education is a legitimate, sacred, human right. We call on students and student councils and the employees and their unions to find common formula for action to expose this Israeli policy, and to work together to enrich popular education. We call on all international organizations concerned with rights, particularly UNESCO, to intervene immediately for reopening our educational institutions before it is too late. We warn our masses of those who deviated from the national line and are trying to distort the educational process in the Jerusalem schools by threatening principals, students and teachers.

4. MILITANT NATIONAL ACTIVITIES:

We call on the heroic masses of the uprising to abide by the following national activities:

- Tuesday, November 1st, is the day of martyred children.
- Wednesday, November 2nd, is a day of general strike and escalation on the occasion of the ill-fated Balfour Declaration.
- Friday, November 4th, is a day for picking olives; groups for aid, social work and volunteer work should help the peasants.

- Sunday, November 6th, is a day for solidarity with the Ansar III prisoners and all prisoners.
- Monday, November 7th, is a day of education; send telegrams protesting the continuation of the ignorance policy; meetings and marches should be held protesting the continued closure of educational institutions.
- Wednesday, November 9th, is a day of general strike on the occasion of the uprising entering its 12th month. There should be marches and visits to the graves of the martyrs and to prisoners' families.
- Friday, November 11th, is a day for social and family solidarity; aid should be given to the needy families; social visits should be exchanged.
- Saturday, November 12th, is the day of the PNC. Rallies, meetings, conferences and marches should be organized... telegrams should be sent to the PNC. The days of the PNC should be ones of special escalation, molotovs and stones. Let's burn the ground under the feet of the invading Zionists.
- Tuesday, November 15th, is the day of National Independence; the Palestinian masses everywhere should await the Declaration of National Independence in Algeria. This is a day of celebration as follows:

a. Palestinian flags shuld be raised everywhere; nationalist slogans, signed by the United National Leadership, should be written on the walls.

b. There should be visits to the graves of the martyrs who sacrificed their souls for freedom and independence.

c. Marches should be organized and nationalist songs sung. There should be marches, nationalist singing and parades by the strike forces and scouts.

d. On the eve of the 15th, all should take to the streets, chanting in megaphones: *Baladi, Baladi* (My Country, My Country) and continuing for three days.

- Saturday, November 19th, is a day of general strike on the occasion of the martyrdom of the great leader, Al Qassam.

- All Fridays and Sundays are days of mourning for the souls of the martyrs; mass demonstrations should be organized in support of the PNC's resolutions.

To our masses, the sons of Al Qassam, the brothers of Abu Jihad and all our faithful martyrs, we call for more giving and sacrifices, more molotovs and unity. Together, following the path of the martyrs, we will resist.

Long live the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of our people everywhere.
Long live the 15th of November, the Day of National Independence.
Long live the heroic uprising of our people.

Call No. 29
The Call of Repatriation
November 20,1988

To our proud masses:

Your uprising is approaching its first year anniversary. It has achieved a glorious new victory with the declaration of an independent Palestinian state by the leadership of the revolution, the PLO. This declaration had become a necessity after the Jordanian regime was forced to sever relations with the Palestinian West Bank, administratively and legally. This came about as a result of your struggle, steadfastness and confrontation of all the schemes aimed at liquidating our cause. In order to materialize this declaration, there should be more steadfastness and confrontation; all forms of struggle should be escalated.

The consecutive announcements of Arab and international recognition after the declaration of the state, confirm that our national struggle has realized new achievements. This also confirms that the escalation of the struggle will realize more achievements in the future.

There is no doubt that the declaration of an independent state will be a great moral and material motivation, pushing our people's struggle forward. The enemy's illusions that the declaration would cause splits in our ranks, will be shattered. You, sacrificing people, have matured as has your readiness to make more sacrifices and escalate the uprising. Today,you say that there is no difference between Likud and Labor; both are repressing and killing our people in the occupied territories and in Lebanon. We will continue to confront the new Likud era. Countering the Likud and Labor slogan of "no concessions" we will raise the slogan of "no stopping, no retreat and no surrender" and "yes to everything that will advance our march and achieve our independent state. Yes to escalating the struggle until end-

ing all links with the enemy, continuing gradual civil disobedience until reaching total civil disobedience.

There will be four more years of the rule of the most racist and extremist trends in the Zionist entity. But this does not scare us. Our people are determined to continue the struggle until the enemy is forced to yield to our will and we achieve our legitimate national rights to repatriation, self-determination and achieving the sovereignty and freedom of the independent Palestinian state.

To our heroic masses:

Today, the enemy is concentrating on campaigns of raids against our villages and assassinating many of the activists of the uprising. But we are confronting them by escalating the war of molotovs, knives and stones; we are using all forms of struggle, including organizing mass demonstrations from mosques and churches, funeral marches for the martyrs and women's marches, all raising the slogans of freedom and independence. The strike forces in the villages, camps and city quarters are forming many guard committees. All the wanted and pursued are participating in the confrontations against the enemy forces; they are masked and know to withdraw at the right moment, lest they be assassinated or detained. In this way, we will prove to the enemy that none of its many varied attempts to use force will be successful. Our people have broken the harness; they are not ready to accept anything less than freedom and independence. Our people will continue to violate curfews in great numbers; they will challenge all measures of the enemy.

We call on our masses to confront the enemy's economic measures, such as the prohibition against picking and exporting olives, and pouring out our olive oil. We call on our masses to carry out the following:

- Escalate the boycott of Zionist products. We have been able to completely boycott certain products; now we must begin boycotting jams, dairy products, olives, pickles,

cigarettes and other food products. We should make do with local and homemade products. The merchants' committees must continue to pursue the agents and top marketers of the Zionist products in all areas of the occupied homeland, particularly in Jerusalem.

- Boycott fruit-picking in the Zionist entity in order to cause maximum losses to the enemy. We also call on our workers to stop spending the night inside the green line, and to abide by general strikes. We call on our masses to help our workers that lose their jobs as a result of the strikes. Our masses should aid every policeman and employee that has resigned from the civil administration. Their neighbors should stand by them. We call on the popular committees in all places to form national levy committees to collect donations from merchants, factories, employees and academics who have not suffered harm, in order to achieve social solidarity during the uprising.
- The strike forces should steadily pursue suspicious and greedy accountants who continue to prepare tax forms for the enemy. The merchants' committees should continue to mobilize the merchants against paying taxes.
- Continue the campaigns to purge agents-all of those who did not resign from the appointed municipalities and the top employees in the Zionist civil administration. We call on judges in civil courts to resign immediately, in response to the people's will which rejects the occupation and all forms of cooperation with it.

To our heroic masses:

We condemn all attempts to defame honorable people by naming them in statements allegedly signed by the United National Leadership or the strike forces. We warn the masses of the uprising against believing in these attempts by the enemy and its agents to harm the reputation of honorable citizens. We call for exposing these methods. We confirm our desire to protect children and all innocent people. Our

innocent children and citizens are the ones who are being exposed to harm and repression. We disapprove of the attempts of some to appoint themselves as spokemen for our people while dismissing the people's acts.

We call on the masses to pay attention to their local popular committees and to work for expanding them by recruiting new members to their ranks. This expansion should include politicized and unpoliticized people, people from all classes, age groups and political and religious trends. These committees are the main bases for popular authority and the independent Palestinian state. They are responsible for all mass activities during the uprising. They will form and direct the committees for food supply, guarding, levying, propaganda, health care and national economic planning. The stronger the popular committees become, the more we shatter the enemy's illusion that they can destroy them by outlawing them.

To the masses of the uprising:

We salute the steadfastness of our people and their confrontation of all forms of repression, particularly in the heroic areas that are continuously exposed to siege and terror at the hands of the troops and settlers. We declare the solidarity of all our people everywhere with them. We call for consolidating the role of the popular committees in these areas, in order to meet the citizens' needs. We highly esteem the escalating struggle of the Palestinian masses as was manifested on November 15th, the day of Palestinian independence. We salute our people in areas occupied in 1948 for declaring a student strike on November 29th in support of the uprising, in solidarity with the students in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and protesting the daily crimes against our people.

We declare the solidarity between the Palestinian and Lebanese people who are exposed to savage Zionist bombing. We salute the heroic militants who are confronting the

Zionist invasion forces and their agents in South Lebanon. They were able to reach Lahd*. We call for consolidating the militant unity between the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese national forces, particularly the Lebanese Resistance Front in order to escalate the struggle against the enemy and its agents. The struggle of South Lebanon and the struggle of the uprising should unite in order to speed up the process of ending the era of Camp David in the Arab area, and beginning a new era of struggle.

We criticize the EEC for signing three agreements with the enemy despite its continued savage repression. We highly evaluate the stance of the solidarity committees in the world that support our cause. We call on them to support the establishment of the independent Palestinian state, and to pressure their governments to recognize the state and exert economic and political pressure on the Zionist entity to submit to the will of the international community and the will of all people for freedom and independence. We call for holding solidarity activities on November 29th, the day of international solidarity with the Palestinian people. We call on our masses in all the Arab countries to hold special activities on this day in support of our struggle. We call on the Arab governments to unconditionally recognize the Palestinian state. We call on the countries that repress our people to end this repression, release the prisoners and provide all forms of assistance to our national struggle.

To the masses of the uprising:

We condemn the Hamas movement's decision to declare a strike for three days in Hebron (Al Khalil). We call on them to abide by the decisions and calls of the United National Leadership. We call on the masses to do the following:

1. November 25th is a day of solidarity with unemployed workers and all those suffering harm or need. Donations

should be collected and paid on regular basis, on the 25th of each month.

2. November 29th is a general strike day on the occasion of the international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people. Marches should be organized and flags raised. There should be qualitative acts against the enemy and its agents. This should be a day of rage for the Arab masses in support of the uprising, a day of broad activities for international solidarity committees, and a day of student strikes in the educational institutions in the 1948 occupied areas.

3. November 30th, the day brother Abu Ammar will speak at the UN, is a general strike day. Everyone should work to escalate all forms of struggle.

4. All days are days of escalation against the agents, troops, settlers, the distributors of Zionist products, employees in the traffic department, accountants and all those who deviate from the national consensus. Those who have not resigned from the police, appointed municipalities and civil administration should do so immediately. Fridays and Sundays are days for mass marches from mosques and churches.

5. On December 2nd, all efforts should be consolidated to return to studying in our schools, institutes and universities. The administration and employees of these institutions should put detailed plans for beginning the school year in homes and clubs (of associations) as an alternative to the official buildings.

6. December 8th and 9th are days of general strike on the occasion of the first anniversary of the glorious popular uprising.

7. On December 10th at exactly 11 a.m. all cars should pull over to the side and pedestrians should stop for five minutes in commemoration of the martyrs of the uprising and the long struggle of the Palestinian people.

All the strike forces should unite in the field; the unity of the nationalist forces in all places should be strengthened in order to carry out the escalation program that will lead us

to total civil disobedience. We pledge to continue the struggle until victory and liberation.

* reference to the assassination attempt by the Lebanese communist, Soha Beshara against Lahd, the leader of the pro- Israeli South Lebanon Army, November 1988.

Call No. 30
The Call of the Uprising
December 4,1988

To our people in their dear homeland:

Your gigantic uprising enters its second year, attaining one victory after another on the way to liberation and independence. The uprising is steadily marching towards the achievement of our legitimate national aspirations and our indispensible national rights. This uprising was sparked by our heroes, martyrs and the sufferings of our genuine masses. Now it enters its second year, stronger and more effective, thanks to our people's suffering, steadfastness and relentless confrontation of the acts of oppression which the Zionist forces have resorted to, in an attempt to quench the flames of the uprising. Yet our people, who have adopted the path of freedom, dignity and honor, will continue their march in order to exercise their legitimate right to restore sovereignty over the soil of independent Palestine. On this occasion, we extend salutes of pride and respect in memory of the heroes who were martyred while struggling in the glorious uprising. We salute the militants who were injured by the enemy's gunfire, and the huge number of detainees and prisoners in the Zionist concentration camps. Their struggle activates our creative revolutionary impulse and urges us on to escalate the uprising, confronting the Zionist occupation forces, and announcing to the whole world that the people of Palestine will not retreat from their great national decision to continue the march of struggle and sacrifices, including martyrdom, until restoring their just national rights, including repatriation, self- determination and the establishment of an independent Palestine, with holy Jerusalem as its capital.

To our struggling masses:

The voice of the Palestinian uprising has resounded around the globe for a whole year, telling all forces and political parties, and friendly and hostile governments that the Palestinian people are alive and fighting for their rights. They reject occupation, surrender and humiliation. For this reason, they are enduring bitter suffering and pain. They repeatedly stanch their wounds with their pride; their sacrifices are increasing with the fall of every martyr and injured, and with the cry of every prisoner, widow and mother who is bereaved of her child. The heroic Palestinian confrontation and challenge to the Israeli occupation's intransigence, brutality and oppression, is the main factor in bringing the Palestinian question to the top of the international, Arab and local agenda. Thus, the Palestinian question has become the main topic of political and diplomatic meetings and dialogues all over the world. At the same time, the Israeli occupation suffers from a state of political and social disintegration, thanks to the ever rising flames of the uprising.

To the people of Palestine, the people of the independent state:

With solid determination and relentless, revolutionary struggle, you, together with your legitimate leadership, the PLO, have managed to move steadily and quickly towards the declaration of Palestinian independence - the dream of every free Palestinian all over the world, through the broad political success of the (PNC) Uprising Session, held in Algeria. This session responded to the Palestinian call for all active nationalist Palestinians to join together under the banner of the PLO, its legitimate institutions and creative national program which expresses the desires of every Palestinian that loves Palestine. A series of gigantic achievements have been attained by the uprising since the very beginning and up to the declaration of independence. This will lead to

national sovereignty over the land of the Palestinian state, with the continuation of the uprising, and escalating it by stone throwing, hurling molotovs, using knives and every available means of struggle that allows the masses to overcome the occupation. Such escalation will be attained particularly through maintaining solid national unity and forming more popular committees and other active bodies that contribute to the national struggle. We emphasize that the United National Leadership is one and united; there are no divisions as the enemy's mass media has attempted to portray...

The PFLP rejected UN resolution no. 242 as a political stand, but it strongly believes in national unity and the various PLO bodies and institutions, including the United National Leadership, and therefore is committed to every call issued by the United National Leadership.

To the great Palestinian masses:

The Zionist enemy continues its policy of terror against our people by storming villages, towns and refugee camps. It proceeds with its policy of enforced ignorance, targeting students at schools, institutes, colleges and universities.

Thanks to the pressure exerted by the Palestinian masses, the Zionist authorities were compelled to reopen schools. This is a great achievement that we should safeguard, meanwhile pressuring the Zionist authorities to reopen Palestinian institutes and universities. We should also demand the Higher Education Council to prepare the Palestinian curriculum that meets the needs of our independent Palestinian state.

The heroes of stones and molotovs will continue their relentless march of the uprising towards Palestinian national independence, no matter how the occupation escalates its repressive policy, regardless of the burn-causing materials they are inventing for use against demonstrators, the economic siege and news black- outs. We call upon our

heroic masses to continue their confrontation against the occupation authorities through:

- Continuing and expanding the boycott of all Israeli agricultural, industrial, food and other products. Such a comprehensive boycott requires that our people not buy any Israeli product for which there is a local alternative. We therefore call upon merchants' committees everywhere to perpetuate the boycott of Israeli products and not to have them in warehouses or stores. We also call upon all popular committees to launch a national campaign to educate people and urge them to escalate the boycott of everything Israeli. We appeal to our workers to stop working at factories and citrus groves in Israel in order to inflict economic losses and harm the Israeli products that compete with our national products.
- We call upon the masses to be cautious. We warn of the fact that the Israeli intelligence services, together with their agents, are spreading misleading statements and calls, forging the signature of the United National Leadership and various town committees. We call upon the strike forces to confront these treacherous gangs in order to deter them and force them to abandon their treachery. Those who forge slogans, and attack mosques and the houses of honest people, should also be confronted.
- We call upon the masses to continue to unite in resisting the Israeli attempts to storm towns, villages and refugee camps. Everybody is required to take part in confronting the Zionists. The strike forces, together with our people, should take care not to be captured by the occupation forces. Form more guard committees and strike forces in order to protect the activists of the uprising.
- We reiterate our adherence to the program of struggle drawn up in the consecutive calls issued since the start of the uprising. We also reiterate our pledge to continue stepping up the uprising both politically and in the field, until victory

is attained, as this struggle is the militant arm of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

ON THE POLITICAL LEVEL

We reiterate our pledge to the PLO, the leader of our people, to adhere fully to the resolutions of the PNC, the Council of the Uprising, especially the declaration of Palestinian independence and the perpetuation of national unity to which we will remain loyal.

- We urge the leaders at the Reagan-Gorbachev summit, and Bush, to shoulder their historical and civilized responsibility to stand on the side of Palestinian national rights, in compliance with international legitimacy which the PNC adopted as the PLO's contribution to the establishment of peace and security all over the world, especially in the Middle East.
- We greatly appreciate the positions of the countries that support our just cause and that have denounced the US's anti-Palestinian stand as was reflected in Shultz's arrogant refusal to grant the leader, Abu Ammar (Arafat), an entry visa to New York to deliver the Palestinian peace address at the UN General Assembly.

This constitutes an escalation of US hostility to Palestinian rights and national struggle. We call upon all Arab countries to reconsider their relations with the US, and we call upon European governments and peoples to see the necessity of recognizing the independent Palestinian state, and to take a clear stand against the Israeli intransigence.

- We proudly salute the martyrs of the uprising and their families. With their blood, they have watered the soil of the homeland to make it flourish and to allow the Palestinian olive branch to grow as a symbol of just peace. In these moments, we recall all our martyrs, first and foremost Abu Jihad. We reiterate our pledge to continue marching along the road of martyrdom and victory until the Palestinian national flag is raised over the holy capital of Jerusalem.

To the masses of our courageous people:

With the uprising entering its second year, we call upon you to continue your boundless struggle and sacrifices in the course of resisting the occupation. Strengthen popular authority over the land of Palestine, as the pillar of our independent state and as effective steps towards attaining real sovereignty over our Palestinian state. Achieving this goal requires that we pool all capabilities to establish more popular committees and increase their effectiveness, to mobilize the strike forces and select those targets which would inflict maximal damage to the occupation. We call upon our masses to continue their acts that weaken the occupation authority as represented by the civil administration, taxes, license departments, etc. Stress should be laid on broad popular participation in the various struggle actions, within the framework of national unity.

We call upon you to carry out the following activities:

1. December 6th is a general strike day in solidarity with our prisoners in the Zionist concentration camps, especially in Ansar III where Palestinian prisoners have been on hunger strike since December 1st.
2. Decemper 8th and 9th are general strike days to mark the first anniversary of our people's great upristing.
3. December 11th is a day for stepping up struggle to mark the anniversary of the PFLP's foundation. On this occasion, we congratulate the comrades of the PFLP.
4. December 12th is a day of popular education and mobilization of the popular committees on the occasion of Palestinian Teachers' Day. We call on our students and teachers to attend school, except on general strike days, and to continue popular education activities.
5. December 18th, Jerusalem Day, is a day for escalating popular struggle on the anniversary of the revolt of our masses of our capital and their actual involvement in defense of their town.
6. December 21st is a general strike day. We salute our

Palestinian people inside the «green line» and call upon them to stage a strike as a day of comprehensive Palestinian peace on the anniversary of last year's strike, to symbolize the unity of the Palestinian people everywhere.
7. December 22nd is a day of solidarity with the Palestinian prisoners on the anniversary of the opening of Dhahariya concentration camp. We call on the masses to protest Zionist oppression at the fascist concentration camps.
8. December 24th is a day for church bells to toll and mosques to announce prayers on the occasion of Christmas. We congratulate our Palestinian Christian compatriots and call on them to celebrate with religious rites.
9. December 12th, 15th and 17th are days of struggle to make the land burn beneath the feet of the occupation forces on the occasion of General Commander Abu Ammar's delivery of Palestine's statement at the UN General Assembly in Geneva.

Further struggle until achieving victory
We shall be victorious.

Call No. 31
The Call of the Contemporary Palestinian Revolution
The Call of the Inalienable National Rights
December 22, 1988

To the great people of Palestine:
To you who have managed with stones and firebombs, to stage an unforgetable epic of glory and valiance in the age of popular struggle for freedom, against colonialism and racism:

Glory be to you, creators of the State of Palestine, with ever-increasing, selfless sacrifice in the battle for national independence. You are contributing to the process of our comprehensive popular revolution, the revolution of stones and molotovs, the revolution of the invincible Palestinian will whose roots go back to the start of the contemporary, armed Palestinian revolution at the beginning of 1965. The glorious anniversary of this great event is approaching as our people and the intifada are scoring gains and offering waves of martyrs who have given their precious lives at the initial steps of the national struggle. The memory of these heroes remains a guiding light for our persistent struggle which will continue until the achievement of our national rights to repatriation, self-determination and, above all, building the State of Palestine in our homeland.

We pledge to you, and to the thousands of detainees, that the banner of the revolution, of the intifada, will be raised, consecrated with blood and determination, until the will of Palestine is materialized in the establishment of national sovereignty on the soil of our independent state, with holy Jerusalem as its capital, under the banner of the PLO, the

leader of our people's struggle and their sole, legitimate representative.

To the masses of the State of Palestine:

Our contemporary revolution has entered its 25th year. The glorious intifada has entered its second year. Our national cause has been having an impact on the local, Arab and international arenas, thanks to continuing sacrifices and escalating national struggle armed with the resolutions of the PNC's 19th session, the Session of the Intifada, scoring a series of victories and wresting more international recognition of our people's national rights. The whole world has heard the Palestinian people, thanks to the speech of Palestine delivered at the United Nations General Assembly by brother Abu Ammar (Yasir Arafat). He has confirmed the Palestinian rights and a just peace based on the resolutions of the intifada session, international resolutions and the Palestinian national rights - the right to repatriation, self-determination and, above all, establishing the State of Palestine, with holy Jerusalem as its capital.

To the masses of the glorious intifada:

What has been achieved by you and the national intifada, whose voice is louder than any other, is indeed great by any standard. The remarkable change in the attitude of states and peoples towards our national rights, and the enhanced status and political role of the PLO, are but one of the results of the intifada. The UN General Assembly has recognized the State of Palestine and called for an effective international conference on the Middle East with the participation of Palestine on an equal footing (with others). The intifada, combined with international isolation and the Palestinian peace initiative, as spelled out in the intifada session in Algeria, forced the US to revise its hostile attitude and to open a dialogue with the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of our people.

These developments confirm that our principal task is to escalate the struggle, to scorch the ground under the feet of the invaders and their allies, in order to impose further concessions on the US and Israel, and to force them to bow to the international will concerning the convening of an effective international conference on the Middle East, under UN auspices, to recognize the inalienable rights of our people.

To the proud masses of our people:

The Zionist parties and occupation authorities have escalated their agression against our inalienable national rights and sole, legitimate representative, the PLO, after the political achievements on the international level and the US decision to start talks with the PLO. This was evident in the massacre committed by the occupation troops in the heroic city of Nablus, and in their attacks against all the cities, villages and camps in the occupied homeland. It was evident in the plans to enforce unilateral autonomy, or to hold elections aimed at creating an alternative leadership, or to involve our people in the municipal elections in Jerusalem, aimed at splitting the national ranks, and isolating the capital of our s ate and its population from the rest of our people in the occupied homeland. However, this Zionist escalation is doomed to failure, thanks to our people's intifada, and their unity under the sole unified leadership of the PLO and its militant arm, the United National Leadership, and their firm adherence to the goals of freedom and total independence for Palestine.

To the people of freedom and national independence:

The steady escalation of the intifada and the protection of its achievements can surely be accomplished by promoting, defending and enhancing the PNC's resolutions. At the same time, there must be increased efforts to form popular organizations, committees and strike forces in every camp, village, city and quarter, to continue the confrontation

against the occupation troops and the settler gangs. This confrontation must be based on a united people and a single leadership motivated by selflessness and willingness to sacrifice in the fight against Zionism's repressive practices. Zionism continues to murder and detain our people, to impose curfews on vast areas of our independent state, to break into homes and institutions, to keep the schools and institutes of higher education closed. Nevertheless, the people of the intifada, and the heroes of stones and molotovs, led by the United National Leadership, the true representative and militant arm of the PLO, confirm their determination to continue confronting the occupation forces in line with the following program of struggle:

1. The Christmas days, December 25th and January 7th, should be considered special days. Special masses are to be held, and church bells are to toll in protest against repression. December 24th and January 6th are days of national mourning to express our rejection of occupation and any Israeli participation in the Christmas ceremonies. On this occasion, special visits should be paid to the families of the martyrs. On December 23rd and January 5th, stores should remain open to enable our Christian masses to buy what they need.
2. December 28th is a day of general strike on the occasion of the anniversary of the Maysaloun Battle.*
3. January 1st is a day of escalated militancy on the occasion of the anniversary of Fatah. The masses of the intifada should celebrate by violently confronting the aggressive forces with stones, molotovs and demonstrations.
4. Escalate the struggle against the Israeli establishments in Palestine, concentrating on banks, agencies, labor offices, etc., to force them to withdraw.
5. Challenge curfews and stage massive marches.
6. Marches and demonstrations should be staged on Fridays and Sundays, after prayers in mosques and churches.

7. Escalate the war on collaborators to deter them from the path of treason.

8. January 8th is a day of general strike to commemorate the martyrs of the intifada, and the end of the 13th month of the intifada.

9. January 9th is a day of sacrifice and selflessness to confirm support to the PLO and to the United National Leadership, and to express rejection of the occupation.

While calling on the masses of the intifada to carry out this program of struggle to bolster the achievements of the intifada, the United National Leadership confirms the importance of the following:

- Continue the national work program in all fields-commerce, education and industry, and comply with the time for shops to be open, from 8 a.m. until noon. All sectors are called upon to fully observe the general strike days; the strike forces will deal with all cases of violation.

- The doctors and lawyers of the State of Palestine should intensify their efforts to investigate and expose the crimes of the occupation authorities in the hospitals and detention centres, showing how contrary to international charters and norms their acts are .

- Journalists and local and foreign news agencies should exert efforts to cover events in the State of Palestine, and publish materials about the repressive practices of the Israeli occupation forces, to keep the world informed about the Palestinian struggle, remembering to use the terms State of Palestine and capital of Palestine, when telling about clashes with the occupation forces in the territory of the Palestinian state.

- More attention should be devoted to national agriculture. Nursery owners should extend all possible support to the peasants so that they may fully utilize their land in order to reinforce the boycott of the Israeli products.

On the political level, we confirm the following:

1. Appreciation of the historical speech of Palestine, deli-

vered by our leader and brother, Yasir Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, in Geneva, including the peace initiative which is in line with the resolutions of the intifada session (of the PNC). Appreciation of the way it has been received, with world support to the declaration of the Palestinian state. We stress the importance of safeguarding national unity in the PLO, on the basis of adherence to the PNC resolutions.

2. The Arab countries should release the Palestinian detainees in their prisons. They should manifest their recognition of the PNC resolutions and the State of Palestine, by opening Palestinian embassies in their capitals, and by continuing to pressure the US administration to respond positively to the rights of our people, above all, by officially recognizing the Palestinian state. The Arab countries should upgrade practical support to the intifada, materially and morally, and open the Arab markets to the products of Palestine.

3. We welcome the US decision to start talks with the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of the people of Palestine. We consider this as one of the achievements of the intifada and a victory for our just cause. The US administration should upgrade its political position by recognizing our people's right to self-determination and the State of Palestine, and by reopening the PLO office in Washington D.C.

4. We welcome the UN General Assembly resolutions on Palestine, the recognition of the State of Palestine. and the call to convene an international conference with the PLO's participation. We salute the UN Secretary General and the Swiss government for their role in supporting our cause during the General Assembly discussions in Geneva. The UN Secretary General is called upon to adopt the Palestinian peace initiative and begin contacts and consultations with the permanent members of the Security Council in preparation for convening the preliminary committee of the interna-

tional conference, with the participation of the PLO and on the basis of the international resolutions concerning Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

5. We view positively the attitude of the West European countries towards the Palestinian issue. They are called upon to develop their position by recognizing the State of Palestine , raising the level of the PLO's representation in their capitals, and increasing their economic and political pressure on Israel to force it to respond to the international will.

6. We call on the Israeli democratic forces that recognize the national rights of our people, to exert pressure on their government by organizing the Israeli peace camp on the basis of recognizing the Palestinian people's right to establish their independent state, and the international resolutions on the issue of Palestine.

To our heroic people:

The world has ushered in the New Year with pleasure, while you have begun it with sacrifices and determination to continue the confrontation with solidly united ranks in order to defeat the enemy. Our firm national front has undermined all malicious schemes, and has been consecrated by the heroic deeds of the intifada. This demands of all of us to rally in the ranks of confrontation and force the enemy to reopen our schools and institutions which they have closed down.

Consolidate national unity through increased sacrifice and selflessness under the banner of the PLO/United National Leadership. Defend the PNC resolutions and materialize them on the land of Palestine with the sacred stones which have proved stronger and more effective than the enemy's military arsenal. Each and every Palestinian, man and woman, young and old, is called upon to take part in the struggle for national independence until the defeat of the occupation.

* Battle in Syria against the french colonial occupation in 1921.

Call No. 32
The Call of Revolution and Continuation

January 8, 1989

To the masses of the independent Palestinian state:

Your heroic intifada has become 14 months old through revolutionary firmness and continuing sacrifice. It is the factor that forced the US to end its international isolation by deciding to open talks with the PLO. On your behalf, we tell the US that this is only a modest, minimal step to allow it to become an accepted mediator. If the US really wants to enjoy such a status, it must couple the dialogue with official recognition of the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and of our people's right to repatriation, self-determination and independent sovereignty in our national home. The United National Leadership warns of the consequences of pushing the dialogue into blind alleys of procrastination, in disregard of the sacrifices of our masses. We also demand that all the European countries upgrade their political stand, so that their peace initiative materializes our inalienable national rights. They should press for the convening of a fully empowered, UN-sponsored, international conference with the PLO participating in an independent delegation on an equal footing. The United National Leadership requests that all states of the world recognize the independent Palestinian state, and open embassies for it.

To the masses of our heroic people:

We are confident that through persistent struggle, you can defeat the terrorist, Shamir, and foil his conspiracy which aims to end the intifada and hold elections, in order to polish the image of the plan for autonomy under occupa-

tion. This is an attempt to undermine the role of the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of our people. We are sure that you will foil this conspiracy as you foiled the projects of autonomy, civil administration, Jordanian option, etc. We confirm that the feeble voices of some weak persons are no less dangerous than the conspiracy that aims to annihilate your heroic intifada and valiant confrontation of the Zionist terror which the Israeli state embodies. The escalation of the intifada...and intensified, multi-faceted struggle are not bound by the dialogue with the US or the municipal elections. Rather, they are tied to the political achievements of our legitimate leadership, the PLO, the withdrawal of the occupation forces from Palestinian land, and the attainment of freedom, independence and sovereignty. We also confirm that our attitude towards any Israeli group or person is determined by their recognition of the PLO, the State of Palestine and the inalienable rights of our people, as well as our legitimate right to struggle for achieving our national goals... The Zionist state is persistently escalating its terror against our masses everywhere they raise their voices protesting terror... The occupation authorities recently resorted to the method of expulsion and intensified their savage measures of repression. Yet we promise that the day of victory is coming, the day of repatriation approaches as our militancy and national unity are consolidated. In view of the escalated Zionist campaign of repression, which has caused unprecedented casualties in the previous month, we call on the international community to undertake its human responsibility and act immediately to provide international protection for the occupied territories, and send fact-finding commissions to expose the occupation forces' barbaric violations of human rights on all levels.

To the heroic masses of our people:

We proudly extol the heroic deeds of our militant people in Gaza and appreciate their steadfastness in the face of all

terrorist acts including organized murder, expulsion, siege and starvation, house demolitions, curfews, etc. We appreciate the steadfastness of all the masses in their villages, cities and camps, as well as the lawyers' strike. All are called upon to show solidarity with the detainees and their families. We congratulate the masses on the occasion of the establishment of the Palestinian Popular Army. We stress that this is the army of the PLO, the army of the intifada, consisting essentially of the strike forces which include all parties and are directed by the United National Leadership. We salute this army and all the nationalists who support it. We are for its development. All the youth are called upon to join its national ranks. We appreciate the distinctive role of the Palestinian women in their struggle to bolster steadfastness and to encourage and protect the intifada. The steadfastness of the students, who are sacrificing for the future, is greatly appreciated; they are urged to be firm and continue their struggle. The merchants' firm stand against the tax authorities is highly estimated; they are called upon to continue their resistance and refuse to give in, no matter the costs.

To the masses of the blessed intifada:

The United National Leadership is the militant arm of the PLO in Palestine, whom you support and whose program of struggle you carry out. We confirm that the day of freedom and salvation will come about only through the continued escalation of all forms of the popular intifada... and civil disobedience. You are called on to carry out the following:

- All militants at all positions are called upon to maintain the unity of the local leadership and popular committees. Continue to form them in all areas, and fill any gaps which may arise due to the atrocities of the occupation forces. A day should be set for the mobilization of all energies to stage mass marches after each call. The specialized committees should supervise the boycott of the Israeli products

which can be replaced by national ones, especially food, cleaners, furniture, cigarettes, agricultural and dairy products, etc. Detailed lists should be drawn up and given to the merchants so that they can comply and account for any violation.

- We call on the masses of the intifada to begin setting up people's courts to deal with thieves, collaborators, middlemen, etc., who encroach on the people's property and engage in robbery. We also call for the establishment of cooperative projects in all villages and quarters to serve as examples of the independent local economy, the reclamation of land and the supervision of storage and supply, so as not to be caught by surprise by sieges and prolonged strikes which may be pending in the course of our ascending intifada.

- We stress the need for total resignation from all organs of the civil administration, the Jerusalem municipality, the traffic and license offices, the appointed town and village councils, etc. The suspicious moves of those who haven't resigned are being watched, and the people's judgement will not be long in coming. We demand that the strike forces firmly confront those who don't resign from their posts in the organs of the civil administration and the appointed councils.

We call on our people in the capital of our independent state, Jerusalem, to boycott the municipal elections and stay away from anything related to them.

All institutions should plan for being Palestinianized, while confirming that this step of independence by no means contradicts or detracts from fraternal relations or aspirations of unity with the people of Jordan and the Arab countries generally. The educational sector should establish a supreme committee for education, to protect the new generation from the policies of enforced ignorance and cultural repression.

Owners of factories and national companies should not

deduct wages for days of general strike . Workers should be compensated to enable them to face the price hikes and the devaluation of the Jordanian dinar. More job opportunities should be created. Persecution of activists or firing them from their jobs should stop. Those who persist in punishing activists are liable to become the enemies of the intifada and its vigilant guards.

We call on the detainees who face the danger of expulsion to reject all compromises and deals in exchange for remaining in the homeland. Salvation will never be individual; repatriation is inevitable. Lawyers and detainees are requested not to accept any offers from the repressive Zionist military courts.

We call on all informational, humanitarian and judicial institutions to intensify their efforts to expose the facts and the Zionists' repressive practices via press conferences, symposia, lectures, etc.

We call on the masses of the intifada everywhere to increase the membership of the guarding and first aid committees, in order to confront the massacres and rising wave of atrocities committed by the occupation forces.

We confirm the necessity of national unity in the confrontation of the occupation, as well as of escalating the intifada. Based on national responsibility, we call once more on HAMAS (Islamic Resistance Movement) to coordinate with the United National Leadership on a militant program for escalating the intifada and defeating the occupation forces.

We congratulate the Eastern Christian community on the occasion of the New Year, calling on them to limit festivities to religious ceremonies.

To the masses of our people, the people of the PLO, the people of the independent state:

Raise the level of the popular struggle and resistance with stones, firebombs, knives and burning the institutions of the occupation authorities; form more popular committees; join

the popular army; confront all atrocities. We confirm the importance of carrying out the following activities of struggle:

- January 12-14th are days for agriculture, planting trees, reclaiming land, etc. in order to counter the occupation authorities' deliberate destruction of our agriculture and uprooting of our trees. Popular committees should plant trees collectively.

- January 15th is a general strike on the occasion of Al Aqsa Day, a day for challenging Zionist settlements near this sacred place.

- January 16-17th are days of popular education everywhere to counter the policy of enforced ignorance.

- January 18th is a day for women's marches and sit-ins to protest the repression against the detainees in Ansar II and III, Dhahiriya, etc.

- January 19th is a day of national mobilization and education. There should be lectures, symposia and seminars on the process of the intifada.

- January 20th and 22nd, Friday and Sunday, are days of special prayers in memory of the martyrs. Marches should be staged.

- January 21st is day of popular rage. The masses of Palestine should march in the streets, raising the Palestinian flag, and breaking the curfew and siege, in order to raise the voice of Palestine ever higher.

- January 24th is a general strike day, protesting the policy of house demolition, in solidarity with the besieged areas and rejecting the orders of the occupation authorities.

A myriad of greetings to our heroic people in their militant positions!

Escalate the struggle until achieving sovereignty over the territory of our independent Palestinian state, with its capital Jerusalem, under the banner of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of our people, wherever they may be.

Victory is inevitable!

Call No. 33
The Call of Challenge and Confrontation
January 24, 1989

To the heroes of the intifada:

The Zionist enemy imagines that its new policy, which permits killing and using different kinds of lethal bullets, can succeed in facing up to the intifada, abating its flames and then stopping the great change which is occurring in the international position in favor of the Palestinian people and their leader, the PLO. The criminal occupation authorities think that escalating these measures will create the proper atmosphere in the State of Palestine, for reviving the so-called autonomy plan. We realize that the escalation of the repressive policy is an attempt by the Zionists to break out of their international isolation and the political dilemma caused by the intifada.

To the heroes of the war for national independence:

Long live your struggle which the Zionist military establishment remains incapable of suppressing. We salute the stones which defeated the so-called invincible army. You, the masses of the intifada, are daily creating heroic images of struggle, demonstrating your high spirits and boundless ability to continue the struggle. However brutal the violence, repressive measures will not prevent you from continuing the intifada until the achievement of the national goals. However much the pressure increases, you will inevitably foil all new conspiracies, first and foremost, imposed political elections (the new Israeli proposal); just as you foiled the preceding conspiracies of civil administration, autonomy, the Camp David accords, the Reagan plan, the Shultz initiative, the Jordanian option, the condominium

plan (joint Israeli-Jordanian administration), «saving what can be saved» (King Hussein's motto) and «improving the quality of life.» You will send all these to the rubbish pile of history.

To the masses of the heroic intifada:

Escalate your struggle and determination in order to achieve our goals. Let us declare loudly to the world: We will not give up the struggle to gather our people, from all places of exile, in the homeland; we will not surrender our right of self-determination or any of our just national rights; we will not retreat from efforts to attain a just and lasting peace in the area, via a fully empowered international conference where the PLO participates in an independent delegation on an equal footing with other parties. We will not neglect the martyrs' blood, the groans of the wounded or the tears of the mothers who have been bereaved of their children. Our people's sacrifices have one aim which is the attainment of freedom, independence and national sovereignty over the soil of our sacred homeland. As we renew the pledge to continue the struggle - whatever the sacrifices - and declare that the repressive measures will not terrify us, we call on the international community to shoulder its responsibility for providing international protection for our people, from the crimes of the occupation army. We call on the UN Security Council and other international bodies to insure protection for our heroic people who are steadfast on their national soil.

To the masses of our heroic people:

The PLO's militant arm in the State of Palestine, the United National Leadership, calls on you to carry out the following:

- Merchants should act in a spirit of cooperation with our people and their suffering, and refrain from exploitation and raising prices. We confirm that the people and popular com-

mittees, as well as the strike forces, will not hesitate to hold accountable anyone who toys with the people's food or betrays them. We call on money changers not to toy with the prices of currency, as this would harm our people.
- We confirm the war on Zionist products and call on dealers to stop distributing them especially those which are superfluous or for which there is a local substitute.
- We confirm the continuation of the tax boycott... We call on the strike forces to increase their activity in the cities, villages and camps, effectively confronting the Zionist tax collectors who suck our people's blood.
- The owners of national factories, workshops and institutions should raise the wages of workers and employees in line with the devaluation of the (Jordanian) dinar and the new wave of price rises; the increase should not be less than 40%. We call on the committees and trade and professional unions to act earnestly to implement this.
- We call on academics and teachers... to devote their time to studies that will contribute to developing educational curricula with a Palestinian national character,... to encourage and participate in popular education and to form national educational bodies in every city, village and camp for this purpose. This will thwart the occupation authorities' policy for making our students ignorant by ordering the collective closure of schools, universities and institutions.
- Be alert to the attempts by agents to plant confusion and division in our people's ranks by threatening honest citizens' lives and property at night. We call on the masses to activate the guarding committees in order to thwart the acts of the enemies of the people. The strike forces should teach them a lesson. The masses should be alert to suspicious calls and lies, and adhere to the calls of the United National Leadership,the sole leading body of the intifada in the State of Palestine.
- Stay away from the suspicious meetings and parties called by the civil administration and the instruments of the occu-

pation. Attending such gatherings is considered a violation against the masses of the intifada and the national consensus.

- Continue to establish the institutions of the Palestinian state by completing the unification of all professional and mass sectors. In this respect, we greatly appreciate the unity of the writers' union, since such unity is one of the goals of our people's intifada.
- We call on world public opinion, and on Israeli democrats and progressives, to do their civilized, human duty towards the Palestinian Arab people, to prevent barbaric practices against the detained Palestinian freedom fighters and to keep the detention centres from becoming death camps like those of the Nazis. The detainees in Ansar III feel that their lives are in jeopardy because of the constant provocations and killings, which occur according to the whim of the officers and administration.
- We greatly appreciate the militant role of the strike forces and call on them to increase their confrontation of the occupation troops, settlers, traitors, thieves and anyone who blackmails the merchants or the masses. The strike forces must attack the appointed councils and those who work in the civil administration apparatus.
- We salute the national role of the honest workers who comply with our calls. They should not spend the night at their work places on general strike days, nor harvest citrus fruit in the Zionists' groves. It is prohibited to work in the Zionist settlements established on the land of our future Palestinian state.
- We appreciate the positive steps taken by those who complied with the calls and resigned from their work in the civil administration apparatus. We demand that the remaining employees resign immediately, and warn anyone who tries to retract his resignation or to take the work of those who resigned.

To the masses of our independent Palestinian state:

Continuing to escalate the intifada is linked to increasing political action on various levels. Therefore, we confirm the following:

- The need to continue the political struggle led by our brother and leader, Abu Amar, and the PLO Executive Committee vis-a-vis the states of the world, on the basis of the PNC resolutions and the historical peace initiative, in order to attain more international support for our national cause.
- The need for consistent adherence to the goals of the struggle, as they are defined by the intifada and stated in the PNC resolutions from the session of the intifada. We warn against any attempt to break the PNC decisions, to practice them selectively or out of context, or to go beyond them, by dealing with the «laying down of arms» (including stones) as called for by the Israeli government. The sole guarantee for our national rights is adherence to the PNC decisions.
- We salute the states which have upgraded the Palestinian diplomatic representation, meanwhile demanding that the Arab states, and all states of the world, continue their support to the Palestinian people and their just cause via the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of our people. We appreciate the positive action of the states of the European group, aimed at activating the peace process in the Middle East, and guaranteeing our people's national rights.
- The US stand remains hostile to our people, their aspirations and rights. We therefore refuse the US logic which equates the occupation army with our unarmed people who are fighting for their human dignity and national rights. In this respect, we demand that the US administration officially recognize the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, as well as their right of repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on their national soil.
- We call on the UN Secretary General and the permanent

members of the Security Council to exert great efforts to provide international emergency troops to protect the Palestinian citizens in the territories of the occupied Palestinian state for an interim period, in preparation for an international peace conference. We call for forming an international committee to investigate the crimes of the occupation troops against our people.

- We salute the peace forces in Israel, those who supported the Palestinian peace initiative. We call on all peace-loving sectors of the Israeli people to support our national rights to repatriation, self-determination and an independent state, as well as the legitimacy of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of our people everywhere. We call on them to grasp the historical chance for peace.
- We demand that all fraternal Arab states comply with their obligations to support the intifada in accordance with the decisions of the Algiers Summit, and to conduct Arab political action in support of the Palestinian peace offensive. We also call on the Arab masses to make the 9th of each month a day of Arab solidarity with the Palestinian intifada.

To the masses of our people, the people of the PLO:

The following struggle activities should be carried out:

1. January 25th and 26th are days of struggle for the strike forces to confront traitors and appointed councils.
2. January 28th is a day of escalating the struggle; sit-ins, demonstrations and marches should be organized, as well as writing memoranda of solidarity with the detainees of the intifada.
3. January 30th is a day of Palestinian molotovs.
4. January 13th is a general strike day to protest the policy of collecting taxes, and for solidarity with our brave merchants.
5. February 1st and 2nd are days for encouraging local products and waging war on the Israeli ones.

6. February 4th is a day of marches and demonstrations to protest the house demolition policy.
7. February 8th and 9th are general strike days on the occasion of the monthly anniversary of continuing the intifada.
8. On February 10th, we congratulate the Palestinian Communist Party for the 7th anniversary of its establishment. This is a day of escalating the struggle; demonstrations should be organized.
9. Marches should be organized from mosques and churches after Friday and Sunday prayers.

Call No. 34
«We can only be addressed through the PLO»
«No to elections under occupation»
February 9, 1989

To the heroes of our independent Palestinian state:

Greetings of pride to you, the masses of the intifada, as you continue the march of national independence and freedom with an upsurge of militant spirit. With revolutionary selflessness, you continue to intensify the intifada which has been consecrated with the martyrs' blood and the pain of the detainees, the expelled and those wanted (by the occupation). Your rising popular revolution is daily recording an epic of heroism and confrontation against the Zionist occupation forces. These forces arrogantly persist in their barbaric repression against the masses throughout the camps, villages and cities of Palestine, who suffer from military siege, mass detentions, massacres, demolitions, and the closure of national and educational institutions, aimed to keep our people ignorant. The Zionist enemy continues to step up the criminal campaigns against our masses, resorting to terror under the guise of collecting taxes. It is increasing economic pressure by pumping millions of shekels out of the markets of Palestine. The Zionist enemy is inventing new methods of crime and repression. Orders are issued permitting the murder of our children who are fighting for freedom and human dignity, for national independence, under the banner of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of our people. We highly appreciate the heroic steadfastness and confrontation of the population of Tammun, who are daily confronting the attempts to uproot them from their land; the heroic deeds and sacrifices of the masses of Gaza, Hebron and Jerusalem; and the masses throughout Palestine who

are withstanding the attempt of the occupation forces to defeat the will of Palestine. Step up your struggle with stones, molotovs, knives, slingshots, firebombs, etc., to defeat the occupation.

To the masses of the intifada:

Along the path of martyrdom and freedom, the historical leadership of the PLO continues to score more victories and political-diplomatic gains around the world, overcoming all the obstacles which the enemy tries to erect. Palestine's political offensive has achieved outstanding success in winning the support of the European countries. This was evidenced in the historical meeting of the PLO Executive Committee with the king and prime minister of Spain, and with the foreign ministers of Greece, France and Spain, to support the idea of an international conference on the Middle East, with the participation of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. On the other hand, the US administration continues its policy of total bias towards the Zionist enemy, by denying the Palestinians' rights and national aspirations. Meanwhile, the Zionist government is trying to deceive the world with political games intended to breathe life into projects which are stillborn, including those proposed by the criminal, Shamir, and the murderer of children, elderly and women, Rabin. Even the youngest hero of the intifada is determined to reject the election of a local leadership to replace the PLO, as well as the project of autonomy. Our masses have always declared that the PLO is the only representative of our people everywhere, and that there is no alternative to the independent state of Palestine with its capital, Jerusalem, and the right of repatriation and self-determination. Our people will remain on guard, ready to counter any attempt to violate the national parameters which were fixed by our people through martyrdom and the continuation of the popular revolution which will remain ablaze and ascendent on the

basis of solid national unity, until the enemy is defeated and the national sovereignty of our glorious state is established.

To the masses of our people:

We reaffirm our pledge to remain faithful to the masses and to our sole, legitimate representative, the PLO. Based on a sense of national responsibility, as the militant arm of the PLO, we call on you to carry out the following practical steps:

- We greatly appreciate the response of the many factory and company owners who raised the wages of the workers and employees. We confirm that the decision to raise wages by at least 40% is binding on all Palestinian factories and companies; it also applies to those who work for UNRWA. All officials in these institutions are requested to comply with this call. Trade unions and employee committees should follow up on this matter. We warn employers against retaliating against the workers' committees.
- The Higher Education Council should form a higher academic committee to draw up a national curriculum in order to make popular education more systematic. All educational personnel and resources should contribute to making this national orientation successful.
- We confirm the tax boycott. All the merchants' committees should take a united stand on this matter. The intifada's strike forces should step up their confrontation of the tax collectors, and confiscate and burn tax statements.
- We appreciate the stand of the employees and officials who have resigned from the civil administration and police. We assure that their salaries will be provided for, as well as those of teachers and employees in the educational institutions, who were affected by Jordan's severance of legal and administrative ties with the West Bank. They should refer to the Palestinian bodies concerned.
- We salute the valiant merchants who expanded their boycott of the Zionist products that can be replaced with

Palestinian goods. The merchants' committees should further expand the boycott. The people should not buy such Zionist products, but rather encourage the products of Palestine. We warn dealers against dumping Zionist crops, such as bananas, oranges, tobacco, etc., on the local market. The strike forces should immediately stop any such attempt.

- We appreciate the positive initiative of the popular committees and strike forces in the Nablus area, where the boycott of replaceable Zionist products was followed up. This should be a guiding example.
- We renew our call to all the employees of the civil administration, the traffic and license offices, the customs, police, etc., to resign and join the ranks of the people. All appointed municipal and village councils should resign immediately. The heroes of the intifada's strike forces are called on to intensify their campaign against those who have not resigned, as well as against collaborators, traitors, dealers, etc.
- We call on the masses to continue establishing popular committees for guarding, education, supply, etc., in all places...
- The masses should remain vigilant against infiltrators, thieves, drug dealers, etc., who try to create social problems. The watchful eyes of the intifada should expose such cowardly traitors. The heroic masses should also remain on guard against the traps of the Zionist intelligence units that disguise themselves in Palestinian dress and set up unexpected checkpoints for control, or use the meanest ways to recruit children and simple young people.
- We call on the masses of the occupied State of Palestine not to have anything to do with the processes of robbery and revival of the administration through the so-called renewal of identity cards. We strongly oppose the antagonistic steps. The popular committees, the strike forces and all honest citizens should make the boycott of the civil

administration effective. The enemy should not get our support to buy arms, tear gas, clubs or ammunition for murdering the children, women, elderly and youth of Palestine.
- We highly appreciate the brave stand of the Palestinian lawyers who have declared a strike and refuse to attend the sessions of the Zionist military courts, in order to expose the illegal practices of the occupation authorities and their violations of the human rights of prisoners-of-war and detainees. All judicial and humanitarian institutions are called upon to support the lawyers of Palestine in order to reduce the suffering of the thousands of detainees.

To the heroes of the intifada:

Great gains are being made with the continuation of our people's struggle, mobilizing all potentials to establish the sovereignty of our glorious state, through the escalation of the intifada and the continuation of the PLO's political-diplomatic moves. On the political level, we confirm the following:
- The PLO's approval is required for any political moves. Consequently, we categorically reject the so-called political and municipal elections, because elections should be free and democratic - conditions that cannot be fulfilled until the termination of the occupation. We confirm that all Palestinians refuse any substitute for the PLO that remains the only body entitled to direct the battle as well as the political settlement. We stress our total rejection of the so-called Rabin project, Shamir plan, autonomy, etc. We publicly declare that the forced meetings with occupation officers should never go beyond the national consensus concerning our people's right to repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of the independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital, under the banner of the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of our people everywhere. The framework (for fulfilling this) is an international peace conference attended by all parties to the conflict, above all

the PLO in an independent delegation, and with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council, under UN auspices.

- We value the European position which is sympathetic to our national cause. We call on Europe to exert pressure on the occupation authorities to put an end to the bloody massacres and atrocities against our people. Europe should move quickly and seriously to force the Zionist enemy to accept the international norms which stipulate the withdrawal of the occupation forces from all the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories, and guarantee our people's right to repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of our independent national state in our homeland. The Zionist enemy should also be forced to accept the convention of an international conference to achieve the longed-for peace, with the attendance of the five permanent members of the Security Council, together with all parties to the conflict, including the central party, the PLO, on an equal footing with the others. The European countries are requested to influence the US position in favor of convening an international conference and recognizing the inalienable rights of our people.

- We reject the US's stand as presented by the US representative to the Human Rights Commission at the UN headquarters in Geneva, concerning the crimes of the occupation forces and their barbaric massacres. The US representative equated the Zionist occupation army and its lethal weapons and sophisticated equipment, with the stones of the glorious intifada. She went on to say that the intifada should stop before the occupation army stops its aggressive practices. This stand is absurd. The intifada started in order to eliminate the occupation of the territory of the Palestinian state. It will not stop until the last occupation soldier withdraws. The US stand against our people and national goals is well known, but what is strange is that it claims to respect human rights.

- We call on the Arab countries and Arab League, as well as all Arab political parties and movements, to increase their support to the PLO, as the sole legitimate representative of our people, in all international organizations and institutions. They should also pressure the US administration to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to repatriation, self-determination and the independent State of Palestine. The Arab countries should not mention the idea of confederation before the establishment of the independent Palestinian state.

To the masses of national independence; the people of the PLO, the people of militancy and martyrdom:

The United National Leadership in the State of Palestine calls on you to carry out the following militant activities:

1. February 11th is a day of popular rage protesting tax collecting and robbing Palestinians.
2. February 13th is a day for escalating the intifada and attacking collaborators, traitors, appointed councils and the organs of the civil administration.
3. February 14th is a day of Palestinian popular education.
4. February 16th is a day of mass rage for confronting the Zionist settler gangs.
5. February 18th is a day for mass marches and sit-ins to protest the repressive measures applied against the detainees.
6. February 19th-21st are days of general strike, to assert our national rights to repatriation, self-determination and our independent national state with the holy Jerusalem as its capital, under the leadership of the PLO, our sole, legitimate representative.
7. February 22nd: We congratulate the comrades of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine on its anniversary. This should be a day of upgraded militancy.
8. February 23rd and 25th are days of the Palestinian molotov.

- Fridays and Sundays there should be marches, prayers and symbolic funerals for the martyrs.

Call No. 35
The Call of One People with One Leadership
February 25, 1989

To the people of the State of Palestine:

Step up the struggle! Your heroic deeds and great sacrifices are cutting short the duration of the occupation, undermining the enemies' illusions of twenty years, and building the structure of the independent State of Palestine, which has become a fact. You, the youth of stones, the heroes of the national independence struggle, have consecrated national unity with your blood. You are the citadel challenging the occupation forces, defeating the enemy despite all its repressive measures, and foiling all its suspicious plans. Once more, the defeated enemy is trying to implement the notorious colonialist motto, «divide and rule,» and to create confusion and discord in the national ranks through the few remaining collaborators. But you are ever faithful to the memory of the martyrs, determined to protect national unity and capable of foiling all suspicious attempts to undermine...the united struggle of the masses.

To the heroes of the intifada:

The fascist Rabin and his terrorists continue the war of annihilation against our people. Nevertheless, our steadfast people are daily confirming their determination to achieve freedom and independence. They are ready to pay the price of defeating the aggressor. They reaffirm that escalating the intifada, stepping up the struggle to the level of comprehensive national civil disobedience, is the only way to counter the fascist Zionist practices, defeat the occupation forces and materialize the independent State of Palestine.

The United National Leadership, the arm and organic

extension of the PLO, is waging the struggle alongside you, affirming the following:

1. We welcome the visit of the Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze to the region, as well as the Soviet efforts to convene the international conference and set up the preparatory committee. The permanent members of the UN Security Council and the international community are requested to support such efforts.

2. We denounce the US veto of the UN Security Council resolution condemning the repressive practices of the Zionist enemy against our people. This proves that the US report about Israeli human rights violations was an attempt to absorb the growing international outrage at the aggressive policies of Washington and Tel Aviv. In the face of the US's antagonistic stand, we pledge that we will never retreat or surrender. Washington will realize that our people, who are scoring a series of victories, are not less than the people of Vietnam.

3. All sectors of the Israeli society should realize that their dilemma is a result of their leadership's misguidance and delusion which is driving them into a blind alley. The only solution is to recognize the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of our people, and to accept our right to freedom and independence. In this call, we stress that the clear-cut political basis for meeting with Israelis should include exposure of the occupation forces' practices, acceptance of negotiations with the PLO in the framework of an international conference, and recognition of our people's rights to repatriation, self-determination and the independent state.

4. All nations of the world are called upon to intervene to stop the inhuman practices against our people. Our unarmed masses should have international protection to enable them to exercise their right to self-determination and free choice. This is especially vital in view of the occupation authorities having formed settler militias which murder our children, along with the occupation forces' ongoing attempts

to annihilate our people, including the detainees in Ansar III, Megiddo, and other detention camps.

5. We welcome the relations of coordination with Hamas in the State of Palestine, aimed at consolidating the confrontation of the occupation forces and achieving unity in struggle...

6. The Arab states are urged to honor their commitments to the PLO concerning support to our masses to enable them to continue resisting the occupation forces. The stand of those states that are honoring their commitments is greatly appreciated.

Confirming the necessity of intensifying the struggle, we stress the following points:

1. Employees at the offices for issuing identity cards should all resign immediately.
2. Don't pay any fine imposed by the Zionist courts, as this money is an essential resource for the coffers of the enemy.
3. We reaffirm our previous call for increasing wages to match the dinar's devaluation and the price increases, for not dismissing workers and not deducting from wages for general strike days. Factory and company owners should improve the quality of their products and services. We remind them that they can meet the rising demand without the Zionist products.
4. Production cooperatives should be developed in all areas of the homeland. All concerned bodies are called upon to support this. Self-sufficiency should also be strengthened.
5. Prices of consumer goods should be fixed, and no one should be allowed to toy with these as such behavior serves only the interests of the occupation authorities. Rationalize consumption and do without unnecessary items.
6. The strike forces and popular committees should pursue those who market Zionist products under Arab labels, as well as the accountants who prepare tax statements.
7. UNRWA should meet the demands of its employees and raise their wages as done by other institutions.

8. Establish funds for mutual family solidarity in every village and camp.

To the people of selfless sacrifices:

We and the masses are aware that the national independence battle against the occupation forces is long and full of difficulties which exact pain and sacrifice. Nevertheless, we have realized that the path to salvation is the path of struggle. We know that the measures taken by the enemy to quell the flames of the uprising, including arbitrary detention, aggression against our people's property, etc., provide further proof of the enemy's bankruptcy. Nothing but failure awaits the occupation troops.

We call on all, without exception, to confront the practices of the occupation authorities. We declare that our people will strongly resist the attempt to impose new identity cards. We should refrain absolutely from dealing with this measure. What we need is a national identity card. We must throw away the military government's identity cards the moment they are issued. Be ready for escalation, for waging a new upgraded wave of struggle in the near future. Increase your determination and store the necessary supplies. We are preparing ourselves for a new stage of struggle. We greatly appreciate the achievements of the masses in the heroic Gaza Strip, who forced the enemy to shut down its police stations; we appreciate those in Qalqilia and Nablus who burned the tax offices. The Zionist civil administration system is being destroyed. The merchants of Ramallah, Bethlehem, etc., are historically refraining from paying taxes. To defend and further the gains of the intifada, we should adopt an offensive policy of taking the initiative in our national struggle. Hand-in-hand, shoulder-to-shoulder, we should proceed to fully realize the intifada's slogans by making them our program for daily struggle and applying them in the battlefield.

We call on the masses to carry out the following militant activities:

1. February 28th is a day of general strike, boycotting Teddy Kolleck's municipal elections in our capital, Jerusalem. The strike forces should bring all transportation to a halt.
2. March 1st is a day of escalation to protest the campaigns of repression, detention and house demolition.
3. March 4th is a day of general strike in solidarity with the detainees who are confronting the occupation forces in the prisons, and in protest of the enemy's practices against the valiant detainees.
4. March 6th is a day of general strike, protesting the policy of enforcing ignorance by keeping the educational institutions closed. All international organizations are requested to put pressure on the occupation authorities to force them to reopen the schools.
5. On the occasion of March 8th, the International Day of Women, we congratulate the women of Palestine. We appreciate their heroic, selfless participation in the national independence struggle; we hail the women prisoners' steadfastness in the occupation jails. We stress the necessity of the unity of the Palestinian women's movement in the State of Palestine, in the framework of the unified women's council. Marches and demonstrations should be staged against the occupation on this occasion.
6. March 9th and 10th are days of general strike on the occasion of entering the 16th month of the intifada. We should keep alive the memory of the martyrs of our people and intifada through increased confrontation and organizing mass prayers for the martyrs on Friday, a day for solidarity with the families of the martyrs and wounded.
7. March 11th is a day of popular rage. The occupation forces and settler gangs should be confronted with a hail of stones and molotov cocktails.
8. March 12th - 15th are days of popular rage against the practices of the occupation forces and settlers.

Call No. 36
The Call of Al Karamah
March 15, 1989

To the heroic masses of our Palestinian people,
To the heroes of Al Karamah battle....
To you who with continuous steadfastness and struggle have set the finest examples of sacrifice and selflessness,
To you who with stones created an epic... of freedom and independence
To you who with stones created a new school in revolutionary theory
To you who, with your sacrifices, have written the history of a new school in the national liberation arena:

The anniversary of Al Karamah battle is the anniversary of a great armed Palestinian uprising, of the national unity of Palestine and Jordan, of the restoration of confidence, of Palestinian challenge to the Zionist war machine. This glorious anniversary comes as the great intifada is escalating to confirm the inevitability of victory. The independent State of Palestine is being built on the national soil through the achievement of mass empowerment and unity of action in the struggle, as a solid basis for the Palestinian national movement in steadfastness and confrontation. We greatly appreciate the unifying steps taken in the unions and institutions; we reaffirm that unity is the most effective weapon against the occupation.

We salute the stand of the Peace Now movement, together with all forces of peace and democracy in Israel, in appreciation of their calls for peace, demanding an end to the occupation. In contrast, our masses denounce the hostile attitude of Shamir and his government against the rights of our people, and against those who call for peace and an end to the occupation. We confirm that the intifada will continue to escalate without ceasing. Its escalation does not con-

tradict, however, with any form of solidarity with our people's uprising. There is an urgent need for more militant activities in support of the rights of our people. We call on the Israeli public to respond positively to the Palestinian call for peace, which expresses our people's aspirations for repatriation, self-determination and an indepentent national state led by the PLO, our sole legitimate representative. Although the intifada has brought about substantial changes on the Israeli, Arab and international levels, the US administration persists in its political blackmail against the Palestinian position via its unilateral and biased media orientation concerning the concept of terrorism. It does not distinguish between terrorism and the legitimate resistance struggle waged in accordance with the Geneva Conventions which stress that our people have the right to employ all forms of struggle. We strongly condemn the US stand which is hostile to our people's rights, while defending the Zionist terror which persists in its barbaric practices of murder and deliberate annihilation, inflicting thousands of casualties, demolishing homes, and detaining thousands of militants in concentration camps similar to those of the Nazis. We demand that he US take bold steps towards a serious, constructive dialogue with the PLO, without resort to evasion and blackmail. The European Community is also requested to play a more effective role concerning the cause of the Palestinian Arab people, and recognition of the independent State of Palestine. The international community is urged to provide the necessary protection for our people who are suffering from the most severe forms of daily repression and persecution. As for Palestinian meetings and dialogues with Israeli and/ or foreign parties, whether at home or abroad, we consider it essential that they be based on addressing the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of our people everywhere. It is also essential that they be based on recognition of our people's right to repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of the independent national state,

as well as full commitment to the resolutions of the successive Palestinian National Councils.

We stress the importance of all forms of Arab cooperation, provided that it focuses on countering imperialism and Zionism. All projects contrary to our people's aspiration to repatriation, self-determination and the independent national state, led by the PLO, our sole, legitimate representative, should be decisively rejected.

In the 16th month of the glorious intifada of Palestine, while celebrating the 24th anniversary of the battle of Al Karamah, the battle of sacrifice, we confirm the following:

1- We highly appreciate the struggle of the masses, which defeated the regular occupation army. The enemy cabinet suffered from confusion and resorted to replacing the regular units with the border guards. Yitzhak Rabin should know that our masses are determined to strongly confront these guards and defeat them. Their fate will not be better than that of the regular army.

2- We highly appreciate the heroic stand of the population of Nablus and Gaza, who have been valiantly facing the occupation forces. Increase your sacrifices, you loyal children of Jabal Al Nar, on the way to freedom and victory. Our people throughout the occupied homeland should step up their confrontation to reduce the pressure put on our brothers and sisters in other places!

3- When a militant falls martyr in the West Bank or Gaza Strip, the real way to keep his memory alive is to escalate the violent confrontation of the occupation troops and the settler gangs. All nationalist bodies, the popular committees and the strike forces, are called upon to escalate the struggle in every way, including symbolic funeral marches, rather than general strikes.

4- We call on those who have not resigned from their posts in the civil administration, as we previously requested, to resign immediately. This is the last call. The strike forces should follow up this matter.

5- We consider as very serious the savage practices and inhuman conditions to which the militants are subjected in detention, especially in Ansar III. We call on international organizations to intervene to force the closure of such detention camps. We condemn the criminal campaign of murdering our people's militants, and warn of the consequences of continuing such acts. Any loss of life will be avenged. A soldier or a settler will be killed for each citizen lost.

6- We highly appreciate the boycott of the Israeli products throughout the occupied territories. The merchants and masses of Gaza are asked to expand the boycott. We consider the practices of those merchants, who are dealing with Israeli goods under Arab labels, as serious and dangerous. The merchants are requested to stop dealing with all Israeli commodities by March 28th. The population should refrain from buying Israeli goods and from going to Israeli areas to buy or sell.

7- We call on the people of Gaza to refrain from putting signs on their cars enabling them to enter other areas. All directors in the civil administration departments, such as traffic, taxes, customs, etc, in the Gaza district, are urgently called on to resign immediately.

8-. We urge lawyers not to prepare tax and customs statements. We also call on the masses to refrain from paying taxes with no exceptions. We should remain determined in our challenge and confrontation.

9- We call on teachers to remember the necessity of popular and local education. Popular education teams of both teachers and students should be established everywhere. In view of the seriousness of the occupation forces' closure of educational institutions, we request all international organizations and above all, UNESCO to intervene and expose the policy of enforced ignorance which is applied by the enemy against our people. Universities in the occupied territories are urged to compensate the students regardless of

all financial matters. The greatest possible number of new students should be attracted to enroll.

10- We recommend that labor disputes be settled on a nationalist basis. National committees should be set up for arbitration of such disputes.

11- Avoid the phenomena of peddling and mobile money exchange booths. These should be completely abolished by March 21st. Our masses are urged to comply with the general strikes.

12- We view with suspicion the activities of some foreign and local parties to encourage emigration in these times of economic pressure exerted by the occupation authorities against our people in the occupied homeland. We call on the masses to boycott such suspicious efforts, and we strongly warn against the continuation of these attempts. Let everyone know that we have lists of names of those involved in this. Remaining in the homeland is a sacred national duty and one of the conditions for the State of Palestine. As the political arm of the PLO, and while continuing the long, difficult struggle to defeat the occupation forces and establish the independent State of Palestine, we call on the masses of the intifada to carry out the following activities:

- March 17th, the anniversary of the opening of the Nazi-like concentration camp in the Naqab (Ansar III), is a day for going to the offices of the ICRC and other international organizations. Sit-ins and marches should be organized to protest the continued existence of detention camps, demanding their final abolition. Palestinian and progressive Israeli lawyers are asked to continue the efforts to expose the enemy's illegal practices against our militant comrades in Israeli detention camps and prisons.
- March 18th is a day of challenge and confrontation in protest of the occupation forces' practices in Nablus, the camps and the Gaza district. The strike forces should employ all means possible to advance towards victory.
- March 21th is a day of rage on the anniversary of Al

Karamah battle. Commemorating this day should inspire love of the homeland.
- March 22nd is a general strike day to protest last year's US Congress decision to close the PLO office in Washington D.C. Cables and letters of protest and condemnation should be sent to the US adminstration.
- March 23rd is a special day for popular and local education. Schools and universities, the Council of Higher Education, and all students and teachers should work together to make popular education effective.
- March 24th and 26th are days of mass prayers in mosques and churches for the martyrs of the intifada and the Palestinian revolution. Marches should be organized.
- March 27th is a general strike day. All should go to the fields to plough and prepare the land for cultivation. Domestic production projects should be developed. Cooperation between different neighborhoods should be established for the purpose of forming joint cooperatives.
- March 28th is a day for dealing with those who are still selling Israeli products, as well as the phenomena of peddling and mobile money exchange in the streets. We salute the strike forces who will deal with these negative phenomena.

Long live the heroic intifada!
Long live the memory of the Palestinian Karamah!
Glory and victory to the masses!
Glory and immortality to our martyrs- innocent martyrs!

Call No. 37
The Call of the Land
March 29, 1989

To the masses of our heroic people,
To you who have accepted all sacrifices in your brave uprising!
To you who have upheld the banner of the people's will - determined to achieve freedom and independence, the invincible will that defies the massacre of the neo-Nazis, unshaken by all the savage repression, determined to advance until victory!
To you who, with bare chests, confront the Zionist war machine, troops, border guards, police, etc.!
To you whose blood, sweat and tears fuel the flames of the intifada,
Warm greetings to you who have bravely resisted the repeated massacres of the enemy and adhere to your right to freedom and independence!
Shame to the neo-Nazis who continue to send their repressive machines to commit the ugliest massacres in Gaza and elsewhere in our beloved homeland!

To the masses:

We are approaching the anniversary of the great Palestinian Day of the Land...the day of challenge, confrontation and resistance, in order to protect our homeland. This day most clearly manifests the unity of the Palestinian people, the integrity of the homeland, the singleness of our cause and national struggle to defend the land and the citizen, and to achieve our inalienable national rights. All efforts should be pooled to celebrate this great anniversary with a general strike, comprehensive disobedience and escalated confrontation. The ground of Palestine should shake under the feet of

the occupation forces. Life should become unbearable for the enemy troops and settler gangs on our land.

To our people in the 1948 occupied territories:

This is our day, the day of defending our land, and fighting for our inalienable national rights. Pool your efforts to support the glorious intifada. Confirm your Palestinian identity, your adherence to your homeland, with honor, ready to defend it.

To our heroic people:

As you confront the enemy troops, and the ugly face of the occupation stands exposed, the military government and civil administration officials are inviting some citizens to «polite» demonstratory meetings in a desperate attempt to beautify the occupation and absorb the anger of the masses. They are pursuing the illusion of inventing an alternative to our representative, the leader of our struggle, the PLO, which has evolved from history and been baptized by suffering and sacrifices. The masses of the intifada should remain alert against getting drawn into meetings which are intended to focus on some direct demands concerning everyday life, in an attempt to show that these, and only these, are the problems from which we are suffering. Both the military and civil occupation authorities are trying to prove that we can live in peace without the total withdrawal of the occupation troops from our land, and before the materialization of our independence and freedom in our national homeland.

Such meetings create a negative impression, especially when coupled with the media's highlighting of such daily demands, and they harm the intifada. We confirm the national decision, based on full confidence in the masses, that it is imperative to stop participating in such meetings.

We reaffirm what has been announced in the previous calls. Any dialogue, or official or non-official meeting should be based on the soleness of the PLO's representa-

tion, and commitment to the resolutions of the successive PNCs, including above all, the right to repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of the national State of Palestine on the homeland. We stress that the liquidationist schemes which Shamir will take with him on his anticipated visit to the US, will be frustrated by our people's steadfastness. Their fate will be similar to that of the previous projects of liquidation. If the US is to be serious about playing a role in the solution to the Palestinian problem, we ask that it stop procrastinating about the convening of a fully empowered international conference, as the logical framework for settling the Middle East conflict.

To the masses:

....We are sure that the intransigence of the enemy will be smashed on the rock of your ever rising intifada, along with the procrastination of its principal ally, the US. Escalate all forms of struggle! Resort to all means available! Use all weapons - knives, axes, firebombs, molotovs, stones, boulders dropped from rooftops, etc. Intensify attacks on the border guards to defeat them as you defeated the regular army which has realized the impossibility of its task and its inability to suppress a determined people who are ready to sacrifice all for freedom and independence. All forms of struggle, peaceful as well as violent, are legitimate until the forces of the occupation are kicked out. The enemy describes our legitimate struggle as terrorism, but this does not change the fact that they are the terrorists - armed to the teeth, while we are the ones, who suffer from occupation and endure all atrocities without yielding our right to live free from fear, terror and repression. You should realize that the enemy is not going to retreat before suffering substantial human and economic losses. This is the lesson we have learned through the experience of the nationalist resistance in Lebanon, and other experiences of resisting foreign occupation. Based on your determination,

the intifada will crush the arrogance of Shamir and sooner or later, oblige him to withdraw his defeated troops from the territories of our independent state.

To the heroic masses:

We appreciate the Islamic Conference's recognition of the independent State of Palestine. We disapprove the stands of the Arab states concerning support to the intifada...they neither meet their material commitments, nor take firm positions in support of the intifada on the political level. The intifada does not need verbal support alone, but solid stands which can expose the attitude of the US, our enemy's ally, and force it to accept the idea of convening an international conference, as well as recognize our right to freedom and independence. The Arab states should allow the Arab masses to support the uprising. We appreciate the stands of the countries of the socialist community, which have raised the level of the PLO's representation, as well as the attitude of the British deputy foreign minister, William Waldegrave who condemned the Zionist practices against our people. We also appreciate the popular activities which have taken place in a number of countries in solidarity with our people, including the mass demonstrations in Europe. We repudiate the attitude of the Arab regimes that have remained silent and aloof. We demand an immediate stop to the bloodshed in Lebanon. All efforts, without exception, should be concentrated against the Zionist enemy which is occupying our land and torturing our people.

We salute the heroic people of Namibia, and congratulate them on their independence on April 1st. We are confident that our independence is coming as well, and we remain determined to achieve our rights and to continue our steady fight until victory.

Continuing the militant line of the intifada, we remind you, the proud masses of our people, of the importance of complying with the following directives:

- Rents should be reduced by 25%.
- Safeguard the spirit of national unity; settle any potential disputes on the basis of unity, for the contradiction with the enemy takes precedence over all other factors.
- All Israeli products for which there is a local substitute, and all luxury items, should be banned and confiscated. The strike forces are requested to pursue those who deal with such things.
- It is strictly forbidden to work on the Zionist settlements. Local national leaders, popular committees and strike forces should deal with this question through education and instructions. Violent methods are to be used only against collaborators and traitors. These should be exposed, socially isolated and attacked until they declare their repentance and stop dealing with the enemy. Beware of statements issued by the organs of the enemy listing the names of honest citizens, in order to sow the seeds of suspicion and confusion in our ranks.
- Confiscate the properties of those who have not resigned their posts in the civil administration. The strike forces should punish them. He who warns is not blamed!
- The strike forces should confiscate and burn all tax statements. The offices of the accountants who still draw up such statements should be closed.
- All pharmacies should strictly comply with the decision to close at 12 noon sharp; they should agree on which are to remain open, not to exceed five in any one area.
- We call on the masses to remain disciplined and respectful in dealing with doctors and other staff at the hospitals, so that they can carry out their national and humanitarian duties with perfection.
- All should pay attention to the importance of storing food supplies as a precaution against emergency.

To the masses:

We salute the people of the intifada in Gaza, Nablus,

Jenin, Tulkarm, Jerusalem, Ramallah, Jalazon, Duheisha, Amari and all the camps, villages and cities of our beloved homeland. We call on them to carry out the following activities:

- March 30th is the Day of the Land; it should be a day of rage and general strike. Popular demonstrations should be intensified, along with violent clashes with the instruments of repression and the settler gangs.
- March 31st is a day of solidarity with the wounded, and the families of detainees and martyrs. Family visits should be made.
- April 1st is a day of broad popular marches involving men and women, old and young, in all places. At the same time, the Israeli democratic forces and the Peace Now movement are going to stage solidarity marches to support the intifada.
- April 2nd is a day of popular and home education as the school closure has been extended.
- April 3rd and 4th are days of organizational activities. All forces should consolidate and expand the ranks of the popular committees and strike forces. Diffculties stemming from the special circumstances of the ongoing struggle should be overcome from a patriotic perspective.
- April 5th is a day of different forms of violent struggle - use knives, axes and stones, and drop boulders from rooftops. Let the enemy forces realize that they are not going to escape the punishment of history and the people.
- April 6th marks Shamir's visit to the US. All the national institutions should send cables and memoranda protesting the hostile US and Israeli policies.
- April 7th, the anniversary of the martyrdom of the militant Abdul Qader Al Husseini, Palestinian flags will be raised over the houses and in the streets.
- April 8th and 9th are general strike days, to mark the 16th month of the intifada and the commemoration of the Deir Yasin massacre. Violent struggle acts should be carried out to avenge the martyrs of the intifada.

- April 10th is a day of escalation on the occasion of the murder of the Palestinian leaders, Kamal Nasser, Kamal Adwan and Yousef Al Najar, in Beirut.
- April 11th and 12th are days for agricultural and cooperative activities. Go to the fields and contribute to the establishment of cooperative societies.

Forward towards increased militancy, sacrifice and confrontation... against the enemy and their settler gangs!
Let's revenge the blood of the martyrs and the suffering of the people.
Long live the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the people of Palestine!
Long live the immortal Day of the Land!
Glory and immortality to our martyrs!

Call No. 38
The Call of the Martyr, Abu Jihad
April 12, 1989

To the masses of the heroic Palestinian people:
To the brothers and comrades of the leader, Abu Jihad (Khalil Al Wazir):
To the heroes of stones and molotovs:
To the defenders of the independent state:
To the creators of the national revolution through the continuation of the intifada until victory, until uprooting the invaders from the territories of our independent Palestinian state:
To the militants who have pledged to remain loyal to the path of Khalil Al Wazir and all the martyrs:

We are approaching the first anniversary of the martyrdom of the exemplary, valiant Palestinian leader, Abu Jihad, who gave all, including his life, for the cause of the people and the revolution; consequently, he fell victim to the organized Zionist terror. This anniversary occurs as the intifada is on the upsurge, based on all legitimate methods, and proving to Shamir and his fascist government that the murder of Palestinian leaders will never hinder it. This serves notice to Shamir's fascist clique that their goal in murdering our national leaders will never materialize, for the intifada continues to rise higher and higher, regardless of how dear the sacrifices. Our path is long and soaked with the blood of the martyrs who illuminate the path for the generations who are determined to follow the revolutionary line and the patriotic leaders, with endless feats of struggle, until victory is achieved. This victory would mean repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of our independent state, with sacred Jerusalem as its capital, on our national homeland, under the leadership of the PLO, our sole, legitimate representative.

Let's make this anniversary an occasion for sacrifice and heroism!

To the masses of the independent Palestinian state:

Together with the people of Palestine, we support the resolutions of the Palestinian Central Council which elected Abu Ammar (Yasir Arafat) President of the State of Palestine, and Farouq Qaddoumi as minister of foreign affairs, and ratified the Declaration of Independence. We confirm the council's resolutions concerning the practical steps for escalating, consolidating and developing the intifada. The intifada will not achieve its goals without such escalation and development, along with your creative initiatives, which will guarantee the materialization of the resolutions. These gains were the culmination of the achievements of both the continuous intifada and the PLO's struggle on the Arab and international levels. The struggle and sacrifices of our people resulted in international recognition of the Palestinian cause, as seen in the upgrading of Palestinian representation, Canada's starting talks with the PLO, and France's decision to receive the Palestinian head of state, brother Abu Ammar. The US is requested to take real steps in the direction of recognizing the Palestinian state and the legitimate national rights of our people to repatriation, self-determination and the materialization of the independent Palestinian state on the national territories. The US is also requested to take the talks with the PLO seriously, without procrastination. All the Palestinian achievements are a slap in the face to Shamir and his fascist government which has long busied itself with creating liquidatory plans to undermine our people's rights: autonomy, the Village Leagues, the Jordanian option, the Rabin project and Shamir's own unsuccessful attempts to invent an alternative to the PLO, through holding elections under occupation. These various plans have not differed in essence from the Camp David project that was rejected by the masses of our people as

seen in their struggle and sacrifices. We declare our total rejection of Shamir's plan for elections under occupation, which aims to undermine the intifada and cast doubt on the oneness of the goals of the struggle of our people wherever they may be. Along with the masses, we confirm that there is no option but the Palestinian one; there is no alternative but the PLO; there is no settlement but through a fully empowered international conference which will guarantee our people's legitimate rights to repatriation and the establishment of the independent Palestinian state on the national soil, led by the PLO.

We consider it necessary to rectify the Syrian-Palestinian relations, on the basis of equality, the independence of Palestinian national decision-making and rejection of all imperialist and Zionist schemes. At the same time, we call for an end to the bloodshed in Lebanon, for it serves only the enemies of the Arab people. This warfare is being manipulated by Zionism and its allies, and it affects the intifada of the Palestinian people...(negatively). We call on the Arab masses to stage solidarity demonstrations in support of the intifada in Palestine, thereby practicing their most basic human and democratic rights. The Arab regimes too are called upon to upgrade their support to the Palestinian cause, by opening their borders to the militants of the Palestinian revolution, in order that they may exercise their legitimate rights to struggle, using all legitimate means in accordance with the 4th Geneva Convention. The heroes of our great people in the Zionist prisons and neofascist concentration camps are confronting the Zionist machine of repression with their bare chests and heroic will. Through their ongoing suffering, they illuminate our path and increase our determination to throw out the occupiers and achieve national independence.

Thousands of greetings to you on your day - the Day of he Palestinian prisoner. We pledge that the struggle will

continue for the realization of the goals for which you are suffering.

To the masses of the great intifada:
To the brothers and comrades of the examplary leader, Abu Jihad:
To the heroes of Nablus, Gaza, Jabalia, Al Amari, Jenin, Nour Shams and all areas of Palestine:

Continue your sacrifices and confrontation! Uphold the banner of Palestine! With your stones and molotovs, let Shamir and his government hear the voice of your intifada! Make him realize that the militancy which has frightened his regular army will soon frighten the border guards too. We confirm our people's ability to defeat the border guards. Meanwhile, we call upon our Druze brothers and their patriotic vanguards to keep Rabin from waging his battle with the blood of the Druze community (referring to the fact that many Palestinian Druze are drafted into the border guards). Assigning such a dirty task to your sons is another method to deprive you of your humanity.

On the occasion of the blessed month of Ramadan, the month of sacrifice, patience, defiance and jihad (holy war), we congratulate the people of Palestine and of the Islamic world. We confirm the masses' determination to escalate the struggle during this month, considering all its days to be days of confrontation against the occupation forces, and revitalizing all its nights with increasing numbers of militant acts. We call on all shopowners to keep their premises open until one o'clock throughout this holy month. As the glorious intifada enters its 17th month, we salute the masses of our people; we appreciate their heroic confrontation and defiance; we stress the following issues of the struggle:

1. On the occasion of Ramadan, we call on the masses to take most seriously the responsibility of mutual family and social solidarity; to respect the sacredness of Ramadan; and to economize expenditures. Merchants are called upon to

refrain from exploitation and to abide by the set prices.

2. We salute the heroic merchants who applied their decision to boycott Zionist products, confirming the patriotic stand. We call on them to establish societies to manufacture alternative goods, such as sewing and canning workshops. Our masses in the 1948 occupied territories should buy the Palestinian national products. We appreciate the feats of the strike forces and popular committees in continuing the boycott and price control.

3. We call on the strike forces and popular committees to get rid of all signs written in Hebrew; take them off the shops and all other places throughout the areas of our independent state.

4. We call on the strike forces to carry out deterrent measures against those who have not yet resigned from the civil administration in line with previous calls.

5. We salute the accountants who have closed their offices and refrained from dealing with tax statements in compliance with our decision. Those who have not complied with this national decision, should do so. We call on all the owners of national industrial firms, without exception, to refrain from presenting any tax statements... The owners of national factories are requested to attend to the demands of the unified workers' committees and their projects to reorganize production and fix prices, wages and the workers' social rights. At the same time, they are warned not to neglect the popular demands.

6. We confirm our previous position about not going on strike when a militant falls martyr. The best answer is escalation and violence. We also confirm the importance of not heeding the calls of the military government, because their aim is to split our national ranks and beautify the occupation.

7. We salute the masses of Beit Jala, who are confronting the attempt to open highway no. 60 by confiscating extensive areas of arable land from Beit Jala and Khadr, depriv-

ing part of the population of their income and destroying several houses. The appointed council is requested to resign immediately and withdraw its plan of conspiracy against its own people.

8. We declare the beginning of summer time in Palestine, and advise you to move the hands of all clocks one hour forward at midnight on April 14-15th. All shops and institutions are called on to comply with this time in the State of Palestine.

9. We confirm the importance of popular and home education institutions. We call on academics and intellectuals to begin theoretical and applied research in the different areas of life under the intifada. The heroic deeds of our people deserve to be studied, documented and evaluated. History usually deals ruthlessly with those who disregard it. We therefore recommend that the Council of High Education avoid bureaucracy in its decisions, maintain its democratic character and play its role as a responsible body in the occupied territories. University administrations are requested to play their real patriotic role in the teaching process, as well as in dealing with students and employees.

10. We call on those working in education and health care not to sign the document handed out by officers of the enemy administration, committing them not to fetch their own money from abroad.

Based on the great role of the different sectors of our masses, who are always loyal and disciplined, we call for the following activities:

1. April 13th is a day of militant activities and escalation on the anniversary of Ibrahim al Raii's martyrdom in the Zionist prisons.
2. April 14th is a day of prayer to commemorate the martyrs of the intifada and the Palestinian revolution. Demonstrations and marches should follow the prayers.
3. April 15th is the day of the Palestinian national anthem. The masses in the occupied homeland and in exile should

sing *Biladi, Biladi (My Country, My Country)* in the evening.

4. April 16th is a day of mass rage on the anniversary of the martyrdom of the exemplary leader, Abu Jihad, who was murdered in Tunis by organized Zionist terror. There should be activities of confrontation, using all means available, to revenge the martyrs. Palestinian flags and pictures of Abu Jihad should be displayed.

5. April 17th is the Palestinian Prisoners' day; we salute the militants in the Zionist prisons and call on them to unite...The masses and the various bodies and institutions should organize sit-ins in front of the ICRC offices. The families of the detainees should be visited. Protest cables should be sent to international organizations, demanding the closure of the Nazi concentration camps.

6. April 18th is a general strike protesting the confiscation of citizens' private cars by the occupation troops to be used in arrest campaigns.

7. April 19th is a day of Palestinian molotovs. The strike forces should attack the settlers and border guards, as well as the army, and pelt them with fire bombs.

8. April 20th is a day of national unity, when the establishment of popular committees and arms of the United National Leadership will be completed in all areas.

9. April 22nd is a general strike day. The masses should plant the fields. Nursery owners are requested to donate seedings or sell them at a reduced rate.

10. April 23-25th are days of using all means to disturb the enemy and stop its movement.

11. April 26th is the day of holding collaborators accountable. The strike forces and arms of the United National Leadership should use all means to punish collaborators and those who have put themselves outside the national ranks...

12. April 27th is a day of general strike to commemorate the martyrs of the intifada. Following the afternoon prayer, you

should visit the martyrs' tombs carrying flowers and Palestinian flags.
13. April 28th and 29th are days of national activities.

Long live the independent State of Palestine!
Long live Palestinian national unity and the unity of our militants in the Zionist detention camps!
Long live the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people everywhere.

Call No. 39
Call of May 1st
April 29, 1989

To the masses of our great people:

Your heroic intifada continues with your ever greater sacrifices for the noble goals of freedom and independence in our dear homeland. On the other hand, the fascist character of the Zionist occupation is being intensified as it victimizes our unarmed people in savage massacres. The increasing Israeli violence was seen in the massacres in heroic Nahalin and in Sheikh Radwan in Gaza, perpetrated by the fascist border guards, in total disregard of all international calls to stop the barbaric practices against our people. It has also been seen in the glaring violation of the sacred Muslim sites in Jerusalem, preventing believers from reaching al Aqsa mosque. These constitute clear evidence that the Zionists have lost their nerve because of the persistence of the intifada which continues to make political achievements on all levels. These massacres confirm that the Zionists are still arrogantly denying our people's rights to repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of the independent Palestinian state. They are deceiving themselves, imagining that they can stop the ascending intifada with massacres and repression.

Confirming that criminals will not go unpunished, we condemn the US government's collusion with the occupation authorities, by equating the criminal with the victim, and issuing misleading calls to stop mutual violence in the occupied territories. We also condemn the Arab states that remain silent and continue to repress the Arab people, preventing them from expressing solidarity with the intifada. We strongly condemn the Jordan regime's repressive measures against the demonstrations of the bread revolt. Such is

the method of these regimes in dealing with their own people.

The intifada has blocked all the expansionist schemes of the Zionist enemy, including annexation and the denial of the Palestinian people's persistent orientation towards achieving their national independence. It has foiled for good both the Camp David conspiracy and its deformed product, autonomy...The intifada has put an end to all forms of Arab guardianship over our national cause, so that the sole option is that of repatriation and the establishment of the independent State of Palestine, led by the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; this also stresses the convening of a fully empowered international conference under UN auspices.

In spite of enormous sacrifices, the intifada has day after day, with ever new gains, justified its continuation and persistence. It has aligned the people into an integrated militant bloc, struggling for their inalienable national rights and the national program of the PNC's 19th session. This rendered the occupation's offensive against the legitimacy of our struggle, a confused defense to protect the false image of the occupation. Shamir's latest plan should be understood in this context, a new attempt to overcome the intifada, by misleading world public opinion in the wake of increased international support to the convening of an international conference and to the new national program of Palestine. Although this plan is supported by the US efforts to market it on the Palestinian and Arab levels, it is vigorously and decisively rejected by the people of Palestine and their united leadership which is the only party that has the right to speak on behalf of the people of Palestine in the occupied territories. We warn against unbalanced statements which contradict the national position expressed in our calls.

The Shamir plan is part of the occupiers' self-rule project. It is an attempt to undermine an effective international conference, to restore Kissinger's step-by-step approach which

has been rejected, and to divide between our people in the homeland and in exile, sowing the seeds of discord among their social and political forces. In the final analysis, it is an evil attempt to beautify the occupation and end the intifada via political means.

We call for stopping any sign of agreement with Shamir's plan, regardless of its source. We stress our firm commitment to the PLO's national program which is based on an international conference, rejecting the US orientation of monopolizing the settlement according to the step-by-step policy and other similar policies. The US is the essential supporter of Israel, and defends it in all international forums. Our people do not consider the US role to be equivalent to the role of the other permanent members of the Security Council, above all the Soviet Union, our faithful friend. We doubt the sincerity of the US which is busy propagating for the Shamir plan. The US should respond to the overwhelming international will concerning the convening of an international conference. We demand that the Arab states hold an urgent summit to emphasize firm commitment to the international conference for resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict; they hould stop supporting the US step-by-step policy.

All illusions about reviving a US-Israeli-Arab reactionary settlement are based on putting an end to the intifada. These illusions are doomed to remain as hot air, because the intifada has deep roots and is becoming more radical through the ascending revolutionary action of our people who adhere to their national goals and reject all suspicious projects.

In this context, our people are strongly urged to boycott the meetings organized by the civil administration, and to refrain from taking part in any political talks held by the occupation authorities. Such contacts are meant to market the notorious Shamir plan and beautify the occupation's ugly face, making it appear to the world that the Zionists have

started talks with a local leadership - an alternative to the PLO.

With the aim of promoting militant Palestinian and Arab positions, we call on the Syrian leadership to correct the Palestinian-Syrian relations and end its unjustified boycott of the PLO, for this weakens Arab solidarity with the cause of our people. At the same time, we call for an immediate end to the bloodshed in Lebanon. There should be immediate intervention by the Arab countries to help reunite Lebanon on a democratic basis, as part and parcel of the Arab people and their liberation cause.

The Syrian and Jordanian regimes are requested to release the Palestinian political detainees from their prisons, and to stop pursuing the cadres of the Palestinian revolution.

To the masses of our people; to the Palestinian working class:

We salute you as heroes on the occasion of your day, May 1st, the international workers' day. Together with the masses, you are in the frontlines of the war of national independence. We hail your struggle which is making the modern history of Palestine. With your confrontation, sacrifice and selflessness, you have taught a lesson to the Israeli enemy - to the regular troops, the border guards and the settler gangs. We salute you who have given many martyrs. Thousands of greetings to the martyrs of the Palestinian working class on May Day. Thousands of greetings to all the workers who are suffering from Zionist atrocities, who are suffering in the neofascist concentration camps, who are setting the finest examples of steadfastness and challenge, furthering their vanguard role in the intifada.

- We are proud of the militant role of the Palestinian working class in the intifada, despite all their suffering. We call on international institutions to support the Palestinian trade union movement in order to put an end to the expul-

sion orders which affected union leaders, to repatriate those expelled, to release the detainees, reopen the closed union offices and stop the arbitrary measures against workers and trade unions.

- Based on national responsibility, we call on the owners of industrial firms to improve the economic situation of the workers, in order to promote their steadfastness in the homeland. They are asked to employ more workers in the national factories in order to reduce dependence on work in Israeli projects.We also call on the workers to refrain from taking jobs at Israeli firms if work is available locally. They should strictly refrain from working at Zionist settlements, for this contradicts the militant role of the working class...

- We appreciate the call of the Higher Islamic Committee and stress the importance of considering all the days of Ramadan as Fridays, attending prayers at the Al Aqsa mosque and defending the Islamic holy sites.

- We call on the people of Nablus, especially the owners of houses that have been demolished or sealed, to return to their houses and remain there. The masses are asked to help restore and rebuild such houses.

- The masses should boycott Israeli agricultural products: melons, berries, etc. The strike forces should prevent the marketing of such products.

- We appreciate the unifying steps to form higher regional councils. We call for the continued formation of such councils in order to organize and involve all sectors of the people in the war of independence.

- On the occasion of Easter, we congratulate all Christians in the State of Palestine. Merchants should keep their shops open until 6 p.m., local time of Palestine, on April 29th.

- On the occasion of Eid Al Fitr (holiday at the end of Ramadan), we congratulate the Muslim masses. Merchants should keep their shops open until 6 p.m., local time of Palestine, on May 4th and 5th. The masses should increase solidarity with poor families.

- In response to the masses' solidarity with the families of martyrs, the day following the martyrdom of any militant is considered a general strike day in the district concerned, due to respect for the martyr and his family.

- Lawyers should refrain from involvement in the suspicious attempt of the lawyer, Musa Alqam, to form a Palestinian lawyers' committee. He is notorious for his connections with the occupation authorities.

- We appreciate the compliance of the pharmacists with the schedule we have set. Those who have not yet done so should conform immediately with the schedule of the Pharmacists' Union.

- We appreciate the landlords who complied with our decision to reduce rents by 25%. Those who have not yet done so should immediately abide by this decision. Tenants who have not paid the rent should do so immediately.

To the masses of our heroic people,

The 41st anniversary of the usurpation of our homeland and the uprooting of our people is approaching. With many sacrifices and martyrs, our heroic people have managed to undermine all attempts to liquidate our national identity or lessen our militant character. We are a militant people struggling for universally recognized national rights and identity.

We call on you to establish more strike force units and to deal painful blows to the enemy army, border guards, settlers and collaborators.

With stones and firebombs, with all available means of struggle, proceed with escalating the intifada until national independence, promoting unity and solidarity... avoiding factionalism and narrow communalism. We call on you to carry out the following national program:

1. On April 30th, students, parents and teachers in the West Bank are called upon to stage sit-ins in front of the offices of public education and the UNRWA, to protest the

continued closure of the schools and the policy of enforced ignorance. Students in Jerusalem and Gaza should sit-in in their schools in solidarity with their West Bank colleagues.

2. May 1st is a day for upgraded militancy. Organize nationalist marches and confrontations against the occupation troops and settlers. Raise the Palestinian national flag.

3. May 3rd is a day of escalation and confrontation in commemoration of all working class martyrs, including Ahmed Al Kilani and Amjad Al Shawwa.

4. May 4th is a day of solidarity with those whose houses were demolished; reconstruction committees should be formed.

5. May 5th is a distinctive day of mass participation. Those wishing to attend Friday prayers should march to the sacred Al Aqsa mosque to attend the special prayers near the barricades erected by the enemy to prevent believers from reaching the mosque. This should be a day of distinctive confrontation to protest the soldiers' aggression against our holy sites.

6. The first day of the Eid Al Fitr is a day of demonstrations starting from the mosques and graveyards. The second and third days are days of solidarity with the families of the martyrs, wounded, detainees and expelled.

7. May 9th is a general strike day on the occasion of the 18th month of the intifada and in commemoration of the first martyrs.

8. May 11th is a general strike day to commemorate the martyrs of heroic Nahhalin, together with all the martyrs of our people.

9. May 13th is a day of special mass rage. Battles should be waged with stones, molotovs and knives to avenge the martyrs of Nahhalin who were slaughtered by the criminal border guards.

10. On May 14th, demonstrations and marches should be organized, starting from the churches.

11. May 15th is a general strike day on the occasion of the

Palestinian disaster when our people were uprooted.

12. May 21st is a general strike day in solidarity with the detainees in the Nazi-like detention camps and those who are threatened with expulsion. The slogans for the day are: «Close the Naqab concentration camp! Freedom for detained freedom fighters!».

13. April 20th to May 21st are days of militancy for confronting the occupation troops and settler gangs.

Long live independent Palestine!
Long live the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the people of Palestine everywhere!
Long live the Palestinian working class!

Call No. 40
The Call of Steadfastness and Heroism
May 22, 1989

In these days while heroic struggle is being waged, we commemorate the 22nd anniversary of the Arab armies' defeat which took place on June 5, 1967. At that time, the Palestinian armed resistance was consolidated and constituted a revolutionary alternative and hope, instead of the gloom which prevailed after the defeat. Additionally, this month we commemorate the 7th anniversary of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and the anniversary of the legendary steadfastness which our revolutionaries in Beirut proved. We are now witnessing official Arab silence towards the intifada. They have remained only as observers who are betting on the termination of the revolution and the PLO, but our people persevered as exemplified in the defeat of Brezhenski's plan and Reagan's plan through their sacrifices and steadfastness. History repeats itself once again. The struggle of our people, their sacrifices and the uprising are defeating the Zionist repressive machine and have received solidarity from the entire world with the exception of the Arab countries which have not even held a demonstration or a solidarity march with the uprising.

The Arab masses should overcome the barriers of silence and express their real solidarity with our unarmed people who are waging their war of independence.

To the heroes of the intifada:
Your sacrifices and confrontations bring the day of salvation closer, the day of freedom and independence, and shorten the age of the occupation. Your struggle is bringing about the defeat of the occupation's projects of liquidation. The Shamir plan, which has become the official consipiracy of the enemy's government will be defeated through our mas-

ses' heroic confrontations just as the case with the Camp David autonomy plan and Jordan's condominium plan, although the enemy will refuse to admit their defeat. Nevertheless, the occupation's army and authorities are losing their nerves and are deceiving themselves by thinking that through escalating the daily repression and massacres, they will be able to revive the military option which has been defeated by the masses of the uprising. The Israeli ministers are calling for the isolation of the occupied territories from the world in order to liquidate the uprising, in addition to calls by Sharon and others for increasing expulsions and administrative detentions, as well as racist calls from Zionist officials to dispense with Arab laborers. In fact, all these calls coupled with the fascist repressive measures of shooting at our masses to cause thousands of injured and hundreds of martyrs from the waves of confrontation which are determined to continue the struggle until the termination of the occupation. These calls have also been coupled with imposing curfews on more than one million Palestinians and attacking villages and camps, as well as demolishing tens of houses. In fact all of these measures, which constitute the government's official policies, are a desperate attempt to terrify our people and create the proper atmosphere in order to implement the Shamir plan. This plan aims at liquidating the Palestinian cause and aborting the uprising, and is supported by the US administration which supports the occupation's aims and ignores the will of the international community. This is instead of recognizing the national and legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The US administration has adopted Shamir's plan which is based on the Camp David agreements which were categorically rejected by our people. It has tried through its envoys' visits to the area including Dennis Ross, to offer its support to this conspiracy thereby exposing our people to more suffering and terrorism.

The UNL along with the Palestinian masses confirms its

decisive rejection of Shamir's conspiracy for holding elections in the occupied territories while under occupation. Elections will never occur until the occupation ends, and only under international supervision as a first step towards convening an international peace conference. This is considered the only way to establish peace in the area and the recognition of the Palestinian people's right to repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO. The UNL also reaffirms the determination of our people to accept the challenge and confrontation in order to bring about the final defeat of all these conspiracies.

To our heroic masses:

Due to the occupation authorities' failure in confronting the will and steadfastness of the PLO's army, the army of the national independence war, they are desperately trying to put a wedge within the unified national ranks and to harm the national unity of our people. This unity has been paved daily with sacrifices and deepened by the confrontations which are stronger than the occupation's bogus statements aimed at shaking this unity by spreading rumors and lies through the enemy's propaganda to create doubts about the nationalistic intentions of some of our people. They are attempting to plant confusion within the nationalist forces to divert their attention from the struggle against the occupation. However, our masses in the Gaza Strip and in the camps and all other areas of confrontation are sustaining national unity just as they are protecting the revolution and the uprising. Our masses are able to refrain from sectarian problems and are devoted to cooperation and comradeship in order to put the national interest above all other considerations. Our people are able to expose these cheap means of the occupation authorities which aim at harming the unity of the nationalist forces.

To the heroes of stones and molotovs:

The UNL is determined that there will be neither retreat nor weakness and stresses that the Zionist terrorism and its fascist measures will only increase our determination to continue the struggle, and confirms the following:

- Appealing to the Arab Summit to support the Palestinian initiative announced at the last PNC, and to work at foiling the plans of liquidation, first and foremost the Shamir plan. The UNL declares its rejection of all separate solutions and the US step-by-step policy and confirms its adherence to the international peace conference as the only means to establish a just peace in the area. The UNL also appeals to the Arab Summit to abide by its obligations to the commitments which were adopted in the Algiers Summit in support of the uprising.
- Condemning the US position due to its on-going policy of procrastination and disregarding our suffering. This US position, which also continues its support in propagating the Shamir plan, opposes the membership of the Palestinian state in international organizations.
- We salute our masses in the Gaza Strip for their heroism and sacrifices, those in the camps of revolution particularly Nuseirat camp. We also salute our people in Nablus, Jenin, Tulkarem and in all other areas of confrontation.
- In self-defence, and in order to make the enemy pay a high price for its crimes, the UNL calls upon the strike forces to take one settler's or Zionist soldier's life for each martyr.
- We salute those who responded to the UNL call to resign from the civil administration. We salute those who have withstood harassment by the occupation authorities for refusing to pay taxes.
- The UNL calls upon our people to support them. We call for the continued boycott of Israeli agricultural products and the punishment of those who propagandize them. We must deepen and develop this boycott in Jerusalem, the capital of our independent state. At the same time, national factories

should respond to workers' demands and reduce prices while improving the quality of production.
- We denounce the aggressive raids on our people's properties which have been carried out by hired agents of the occupation. In this light, we reaffirm the necessity of activating the Guarding Committees to protect these properties, nationalist institutions and production plants.
- We must continue to pursue the occupation authorities' agents (traitors) so as to be examples for those who deviate from their people and cause. In this light, the UNL will pursue them, not as if they are political opponents with a different point-of-view, but because they are tools of the occupation authorities who are provided with weapons which are used by the occupation soldiers to kill and terrify our masses.
- We alert our masses to the propaganda which the Israeli TV and media is spreading in Arabic. We call upon our masses not to conduct any interviews with the Israeli media.
- The UNL positively evaluates the steps which have taken place in unifying the two sides of the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF). We call for the further consolidation of unity within the PL).
- We appreciate the French position in receiving the president of the state of Palestine.
- We emphasize the importance of reducing medical fees, Physicians should take into account the difficult conditions which our people are suffering under.

The UNL sees the necessity of unifying the union framework so as to be one united union and reinforcing the United Trade Committee in economic districts so that it can participate in developing the national economy.
- The UNL highly evaluates all efforts which were made in order to help the Jerusalem Electricity Company overcome its latest problem. At the same time, the UNL calls upon all those who signed the agreement between the administration and the employees to abide by it.

- The UNL calls upon our masses to work towards resolving family problems for the national benefit and in order to protect the unity within the national ranks so as to be able to confront the occupation.
- The UNL calls upon the owners of bakeries to abide by only selling bread and pastries and not to turn bakeries into liquor stores which sell alcohol and foodstuffs.
- The UNL calls upon our masses to burn the plans of the Zionist industries and to incur economic losses to the enemy. This is in reply to the settlers' practices concerning the construction of our national economy.

To the heroes of the strike forces and popular committees:

We salute you who are forming heroic images in confronting the invading troops. We salute your sacred stones and burning bottles which are burning Shamir's conspiracy and all attempts which aim at aborting the uprising. We salute you while you are consolidating the popular authority as an alternative to the occupation's authority. We salute you who are embodying our people's will. Salutations to you who are crowning the UNL decisions, the militant and struggling arm of the PLO in the state of Palestine. We salute you who are foiling the occupation authorities' attempts to isolate the West Bank and Gaza Strip and through this you have put forth the borders of our state. While you are struggling to break this isolation in order to reach the capital of your independent state, you will be carrying out the following program:

1. May 23rd, on the occasion of the convening of the Arab Summit, we declare a general strike and protest against US support for the Shamir plan.
2. May 27th should be a distinguished day of struggle protesting the occupation authorities' measures against our masses in the Gaza Strip and the imposition of curfews on that area.
3. May 28th, on the occasion of the convening of the first

PNC session in Jerusalem (the capital of our independent state), we salute our masses with nationalist celebrations, raised flags, marches and the singing of nationalist songs.
4. May 30th, this will be a solidarity day with the detainees of the intifada, especially those in Ansar III, who have been suffering from the most severe types of repression and oppression. They are denied the simplest human rights and threatened with murder whenever any disobedience or sit-ins at the Red Cross occur.
5. June 1st, on the occasion of International Child's Day, children's marches and sit-ins should be organized as an expression of our children's rejection of the occupation and their determination to attain freedom and independence.
6. June 4th, on the anniversary of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, a total strike should be declared as an expression of our masses total rejection of the Shamir plan which the enemy's government is trying to impose upon our people.
7. June 5th is a total strike day on the occasion of the 22nd anniversary of the Arab regimes' defeat and the subsequent occupation of the remaining parts of Palestine, the Sinai and the Golan Heights.
8. June 9th is a total strike day on the occasion of the uprising entering its 19th month.
9. June 10-12 are days of violent confrontion in all localities against the occupation army, settlers and agents in order to foil the Shamir plan.

Call No. 41
The Call of Challenge and Persistence
June 13, 1989

To the masses of our people, the masses of national steadfastness and militancy, who are determined to achieve victory:

More than 18 months after the beginning of the heroic intifada, our national struggle is facing a critical moment. The enemy has resorted to the idea of defeating the intifada through political means after being convinced that repression alone had failed to affect it. The enemy's colonial mentality has invented a strange plan, worse even than the notorious Camp David plans, bearing the names of Shamir and Rabin. This plan consists of holding local elections to choose a limited representative body which would enter bilateral negotiations with the enemy to create autonomy, lasting for five years, based on the continuation of occupation and repression. The declaration of this plan was accompanied by redoubled state repression, as well as the rabid settler campaign, and increasingly belligerent statements by Rabin and others, calling for more repressive measures if the plan is rejected. They seem to be lost in a vicious circle. If all repressive methods have failed to abate the intifada, how can the same methods succeed in forcing us to accept a project which is void of seriousness and has no other aim than stopping the intifada and beautifying the enemy in the face of the world? At this critical moment of the intifada, we are confronted with the task of convincing everyone that the Palestinian giant which has risen will never retreat to the state of pre-December 9, 1987. The Shamir plan will end on the rubbish pile of history, along with the autonomy conspiracy, the Reagan project, the joint administration, etc. At the beginning of the intifada, Rabin was betting that we

would tire out first. Now he is admitting that we are enduring, while they seem to be exhausted. The people of Palestine have chosen the path of salvation, and will not desert it before achieving their goals of repatriation, self-determination and materialization of the independent state, led by the PLO, their sole legitimate representative. The people of Palestine are confirming to the world and to the Arab masses that the way to freedom and victory is not regimes which persecute the people and bow before the enemy, but rather steadfastness, struggle and sacrifice until the enemy gives up aggression and leaves us to live in peace.

To the heroic masses of our people:

We appreciate the Arab summit pertaining to the Palestinian cause, which confirmed the resolutions of the last PNC session and the decisions concerning the national program. We call on the Arab regimes to implement their decisions by truly supporting the intifada, materially and morally. We call on the Arab masses to demonstrate in support of the intifada. At the same time, we appreciate the unifying position of the organizations which constitute the PLO (Fatah, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Arab Liberation Front, Palestinian Communist Party, Palestinian Liberation Front). All of them are regarded as being represented in the United Leadership of the Intifada. The resolutions of the Arab summit concerning our cause did not differ from the Palestinian position. Yet our people are suffering under occupation and need more than verbal declarations. What we have been suffering for more than twenty years is a direct consequence of deep-rooted Arab negligence and failure. Let the Arabs translate their resolutions into deeds, and exert their political and economic weight to pressure the US, the main supporter of our enemy, so that it gives up its methods of procrastination and step-by-step approach, and instead recognizes our legitimate rights. This

would be the real beginning of the process for peace and security in the region. The US should realize that further delay in raising the level of the dialogue with the PLO, in being serious and active, and in recognizing our legitimate rights will only increase the flames of the intifada. We call on all people of conscience, all supporters of human rights all over the world, to visit the State of Palestine, to see for themselves the bad situation our people are living in. They should then pressure their respective governments to recognize our legitimate rights to repatriation and self-determination in an independent state in our homeland, like other peoples of the world.

To the masses of our proud people:

The army's and settlers' attacks on our cities and villages have increased to a hysterical degree. They imagine they can end the intifada in this way. However, we have chosen the victorious path of the intifada, and are determined to continue regardless of the sacrifices required. The racist Zionist authorities are trying to hit the Palestinian working class via their means of subsistence. They are repeating the Nazis' practices at work places. They are trying to force workers and others in the heroic Gaza Strip to obtain special permits for going to work. To face such racist practices, the people should establish the broadest possible solidarity among the masses and the workers.

Let the whole people stand together! Let all the faithful patriotic forces join together in the trenches of the intifada...consolidating, radicalizing and escalating the intifada on a long-term basis, under the slogans: Liberty or death! Victory or death!

To the steadfast, heroic masses:

Greetings to the heroic masses in Gaza, Nahhalin, Kafr Harith, Tammun, Qalqilya, Sinjil, etc., who have been

firmly confronting the mad enemy campaigns. We confirm the following:

1. The blood of our people will not go unavenged! We are being murdered in cold blood, and we have the right to self-defense. Our blood is not cheaper than theirs.

2. With great pride, we announce the martyrdom of the militant Palestinian prisoner, Omar Qassem, member of the DFLP Central Committee, who died after 21 years of captivity, without wavering in his determination. The occupation authorities bear full responsibility for his death. They have cold-bloodedly neglected his need for medical treatment, and consequently killed him. The murder of comrade Qassem will remain as a shameful stain on Zionism forever.

3. Committees for the protection of the prisoners should be established in every city. After each call, a day should be designated for holding press conferences and information sessions to expose the difficult conditions of the prisoners in the Zionist detention camps, especially Ansar III...where scores of detainees are suffering from serious health problems. All international humanitarian institutions are called on to do everything in their power to obtain the release of the detainees and to save their lives.

4. The popular committees should be unified in single, unified committees in all cities, villages and districts; they should be strengthened and enlarged to become the great platform of people's power in independent Palestine. This is a fundamental, indispensible task for the development of the intifada, in addition to the formation of more strike forces, the glorious weapon of the intifada in combatting the enemies of the people - the soldiers, settlers and collaborators.

5. Blows against collaborators should be intensified. They should be called to account nationally. We should focus on those who are judged to be guilty based on available evidence and national consensus. Punishment should be differentiated in accordance with the gravity of their crimes

against the people and their readiness to truly repent.

6. Protect the unity of the national ranks. Problems should be contained in the interests of the national cause and the continuation of the intifada, for it represents the unity of the people of Palestine, wherever they may be. Palestinians in the 1948 occupied areas are called on to unite their ranks, support the intifada and combat racial discrimination.

7. We highly evaluate the formation of the Higher Student Council, considering it to be the authority in deciding all questions concerning the students of the independent State of Palestine. We request that all educational institutes deal with this council.

8. Boycott work in Zionist settlements absolutely. Committees should be formed to support those workers who comply with the boycott, and to provide them with their vital needs.

9. In the economic sphere, we stress the absolute importance of building the local economy in line with the principles of popular development, by establishing agricultural and industrial production cooperatives. This requires large amounts of capital, land reclamation and self-reliance. We also confirm the importance of intensifying the boycott of Zionist agricultural and industrial products for which there are substitutes. Special committees should be established to study the economic situation and propose viable projects.

10. Those who have wells for irrigation should reduce the price of water to enable the small peasants to survive and develop national agricultural production.

11. Bakers should not convert their bakeries into grocery stores, but should confine themselves to selling bread and biscuits.

12. We warn the merchants who toy with prices. Merchants' and popular committees should fix prices and control their observance.

13. The accountants' society in Gaza is requested to sus-

pend its members who have continued to draw up tax statements for the civil administration. All accountants should refrain from such a hateful role.

14. We call on the masses in Gaza to refrain from ruining the agricultural products which come from the Jordan Valley to the heroic Strip, such as watermelons.*

15. The judicial bodies are requested not to deal with the military orders issued by the occupation, numbered 1271 and 1274, concerning the practices of owners and tenants, and court fees.

To escalate and radicalize the intifada towards victory, we call on the masses to carry out the following activities:

- June 17th is a general strike day, calling on the US administration to accept the convening of a fully empowered international conference as the forum capable of establishing peace in the region.
- June 18th and 19th are days for escalating militancy and increased use of knives and molotovs against the enemy soldiers and settlers.
- June 20th is a general strike day in solidarity with the working class in Gaza, and in protest of the unjust fascist measures.
- June 21st-27th are days of militant activities and escalated struggle against the neofascists.
- June 28th is a day of militant activities to denounce the annexation of Jerusalem. Palestinian flags should be raised over the capital of our independent state and in all areas of our dear homeland.
- June 29th is a general strike day to protest the settlers' attacks on our people.
- July 1st is a day of Palestinian culture and folklore. Festivals, shows, bazaars, etc., are to be held to confirm that our people are tied to their culture and safeguard it from falsification.
- July 2nd and 3rd are days for exposing the occupation authorities' policies for enforcing ignorance by closing our

educational institutions. Memoranda should be addressed to various international bodies which can pressure the occupation authorities, to oblige them to reopen the schools and universities. There should be sit-ins and marches. Private schools in Jerusalem should not dispense with teachers, but rather pay them in full.

Victory is inevitable!
Long live the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people everywhere!
Long live Jerusalem, the capital of Palestine!

*This is after the Gaza strike forces mistakenly destroyed West Bank watermelons, thinking they were Israeli produce.

Call No. 42
The Call of the Oath
July 1, 1989

To the heroic masses of the Palestinian people:
To the children of the great Palestinian intifada:

With your blood, you have written an epic of heroism and honor, the epic of the defense of the land of our independent state... an epic of dignity and greatness for the Palestinian and Arab people, a genuine example for liberation movements in the world of how to struggle for the national cause according to a sound method, a democratic phenomenon combining real revolution and civil disobedience!

With your pure blood, you have pledged that the intifada will continue to be a thorn in the side of the Zionist occupation until the aggressors and their allies recognize our people's right to repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of their independent state on the national land with Jerusalem as its capital, led by the PLO.

To the masses of the holy stones:

The masses are confirming their rejection of the attempts to beautify the Shamir project, by increasing their militancy and determination to confront and foil all the enemy's attempts to reduce the flame of the intifada. Meanwhile, we hear the fascist statements of the enemy prime minister who has admitted that the war ministry has invented new ways to repress the ongoing intifada. These statements coincide with news about the deteriorating economic situation as revealed by the fascist finance minister who confirmed that the intifada is the main reason for this. The Zionist defense minister, Rabin, has put the government statements into practice, by demanding quicker expulsions and house demolitions, the arrest of thousands and increased murder... Other members of the enemy cabinet have demanded mass

expulsions and transfer of the (refugee) camps to Arab territory. Rabin, Shamir and company should realize that the heroic intifada will keep on going whatever the sacrifices, and that the steadfast camps in the occupied territories are ready to counter attack.

The savage statements and repressive measures coincide with the ever-partial US stand in favor of the Zionist enemy, approving the idea of elections under occupation. Our people do not accept the hypocrisy, evasion and procrastination of the US and other states of the world. The declaration of the European Community expressed the international position on the participation of the PLO in the international conference, as the only way to resolve the Middle East problem, in addition to recognizing the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

To the Palestinian masses:

We condemn the US stand and welcome the EC declaration. We request the EC to exert pressure on both the US and Israeli governments, to force them to recognize our people's inalienable national rights. We also ask both the UN and its Security Council to take legal measures to protect our people under occupation, in order to stop the massacres and the savage practices of the occupation authorities against our people in Gaza who are proudly waging the battle of sacrifice and selfless deeds. We pledge that you will not stand alone. We are one people. We will not waver in front of difficulties; nor will we surrender to the imposed starvation, humiliation and permanent curfew on the whole Strip. These measures aim to plunge the Gaza Strip into a sea of economic and social difficulties, while attempting to reimpose the identity cards for work, which had been cancelled by the masses of the Strip with their unified confrontation of this project and the racist policies discriminating against the workers..

To the masses of the glorious intifada:

We and the masses congratulate Muslims all over the world on the occasion of Al Adha holiday which is an expression of sacrifice, heroism and honor- sacrifice for the homeland and defending its sacred character with increased determination against the occupation troops and the settler gangs. Let the first day of Al Adha be a day of distinctive militancy, a day of confrontation and struggle! Let us embrace the soil of our beloved homeland and be ready to defend it with our blood! We call on the heroic merchants to keep their shops open until 6 p.m. during the first two days of Al Adha. With the beginning of the 20th month of the intifada, we confirm the following:

1. We and the masses of Palestine appreciate the friendly stand of Greece which has officially recognized the independent state of Palestine. We thank the friendly Greek people who support our just cause. All the states of the world are asked to follow Greece.
2. We and the masses of Palestine salute the French government and people on the anniversary of the French revolution which upheld the principles of justice and freedom for the oppressed people.
3. We confirm that the citizens of all foreign states in the State of Palestine are our guests. We must treat them on this basis, considering them witnesses who can expose the policies of the occupation authorities.
4. The heroic masses are called upon to boycott all Zionist products and encourage national substitutes. Merchants, institutions and factory owners are asked to comply with the set prices, refrain from raising them, and protect the market from speculation.
5. We stress the importance of keeping the fixed rate for leasing land, especially in the Jenin area. Higher rates might harm the small peasants and raise prices.
6. Bankers should standardize the exchange rate of the (Jordanian) dinar and refrain from toying with the rates.

7.We call on the masses in the 1948 occupied territories to give food aid and other material support to our people in heroic Gaza, via UNRWA and the ICRC.
8. We confirm the prohibition against having anything to do with dealers and collaborators who exploit the needs of the masses to take their money. We warn such dealers that the strike forces will reach them.
9. We call on the strike forces and popular committees to observe the system of night guarding, in order to confront the Zionist occupation troops, the settlers and the mercenary collaborators. We salute the strike forces and those who are wanted (by the authorities) and call on everybody to disobey the orders of the occupation authorities concerning detention; opt for the status of wanted rather than detainee.
10. We extol the stand of our people in Gaza who refused the special passes for entering the 1948 (occupied) territories, and declared a transportation strike. We also appreciate the stand of Beit Sahour which refused to pay taxes. All our people are asked to refuse to pay taxes for they go to the coffers of the enemy to be used for quelling the intifada.
11. We call on the UN, its Secretary General, UNESCO, all international bodies and the Vatican to play a role in forcing the occupation forces to reopen all educational institutions, and in exposing the policy of enforced ignorance which deprives our people of their most elementary human rights. We confirm rejection of the attempts of some who are ready to give pledges to the civil adminstration in return for the opening of the schools. In the final analysis, the occupation authorities are responsible for opening the schools, since they are the ones who shut them..

With the continuation of the intifada, we call on our people to carry out the following activities:
- July 3rd and 4th are days for the workers of the occupied State of Palestine to stop work beyond the green line, in sol-

idarity with the workers of the beloved Gaza Strip, confirming to the enemy that their racist, humiliating plans will not succeed. Popular and workers' committees are to follow up the activities and improve the acts of struggle and solidarity by all means.

- July 6th is the day of the Palestinian national flag. Flags should be raised everywhere to confirm that our people always hold their symbol high.
- July 7th is the date on which a group of our people were expelled one year ago, while others are still facing the danger of expulsion. We call on all free people in the world to oppose the expulsion policy and work for cancellation of the orders that are issued against the interests of our people.
- July 8th is the anniversary of the martyrdom of the national leader and literary figure, Ghassan Kanafani. We call on the masses to mark this anniversary with different activities.
- July 9th is a general strike day on the occasion of the intifada entering its 20th month.
- July 12th is a day of cooperation. The masses should go to the fields to help the peasants with the harvest; they should help the people whose houses were demolished with rebuilding them.
- July 14th is Al Adha holiday. The masses should stage marches immediately after prayers and visit the graves of the martyrs and console their relatives, as part of escalating the struggle against the occupation. On the second day of Al Adha, the masses should observe a day of social and family mutual responsibility by visiting the families of the martyrs, wounded and detained, and rendering assistance to the needy.
- July 15th is the anniversary of the establishment of the Popular Struggle Front. We salute this front and consider this a day of distinctive militancy.
- July 16th is a day of molotovs. The settler gangs and fascist occupation troops should be attacked with firebombs.

- July 17th is a general strike day protesting the difficult conditions of the Palestinian detainees in the occupation's prisons, especially the desert detention camp in the Naqab, where the ugliest methods of repression are practiced.
- July 19th is a day of fasting for the masses of the independent State of Palestine, at home and abroad, in protest of the continued closure of educational institutions, the policy of expulsion and the conditions at Ansar III. The fast is from 5 a.m. until 8 p.m.; children are exempted.
- July 20th is a general strike day to stress our people's rejection of the idea of elections under occupation. On the other hand, we are proud of the democracy we are practicing in our daily lives. Elections under the shadow of the gun are totally unacceptable.
- July 23rd and 24th are days for various militant activities.

Long live the PLO, sole legitimate representative of the people of Palestine!
Glory and immortality to our innocent martyrs!
We solemnly pledge to continue the struggle until the independent State of Palestine is established!
Victory is inevitable!

Call No. 43
The Call of Unity
July 25, 1989

To the heroes of our people, to the masses of the intifada, to the creators of the independent State of Palestine:

You have pushed the struggle forward at this historic moment of the great intifada which is entering its 20th month, as Fatah prepares to hold its 5th congress. This congress acquires special importance in the current stage of our people's struggle. With extraordinary valiance, they are confronting those who try to abort the popular revolution; they are advancing with firmness and determination towards the achievement of complete national independence...

To Fatah belongs the honor of having begun our contemporary revolution through the initiation of armed struggle, coinciding with the explosion of our people's revolution under the feet of the forces of aggression and occupation. This confirmed the continuation of the national struggle until the achievement of the legitimate national rights of our heroic people, to the moment when the banners of Palestine fly over the national soil which has been consecrated with the blood of the martyrs and wounded, and the cries of the detainees in the repressive Zionist prisons. Along with the masses in the occupied State of Palestine, we congratulate all the members, militants, cadres and leaders of Fatah. The congress is surely fully aware of the sensitive nature of the current conditions of the struggle. We remind them of the importance of adopting political and organizational resolutions consistent with the requirements of escalating and promoting the intifada to face all hostile schemes, especially the Shamir plan and the US attempts to beautify it. This is the same US administration which is still vacillating and far from taking a balanced position towards the conflict;

instead, it tries to attain the greatest possible concessions in favor of the enemy...

To the heroic masses:

The malicious aims of the notorious Israeli project are no longer a secret. This project is an attempt to avoid the rising international pressure on the occupation government, to undermine Palestinian unity and gain time for more chances to kill the intifada, or deter it. This, in turn, aims to consolidate the authority of the occupation and deprive our people of their inalienable rights to repatriation, self- determination and their independent state. Heavy blows have been directed against this conspiracy, including the latest resolutions of the EEC summit in Madrid, which rejected Shamir's project and demanded the convening of an international conference to provide the basis of a settlement. Another blow to the Shamir plan was the consequences of the Likud Central Committee meeting, as well as the eruption of a deep crisis in the Israeli cabinet. Despite all this, the government of aggression and occupation, backed by the US administration, has not yet admitted the new reality created by our great intifada. It is still determined to retain its arrogance and try to undermine the intifada and make the conspiracy successful.

The occupation authorities' increasingly repressive measures against the growing power of the intifada include: even greater mass arrests, larger-scale operations of murder and wounding, intensified house demolition, more expulsions, successive tax raids and non-stop repression against the citizens in their daily lives. The acme of this warfare is the measures that the authorities are trying to implement in the Gaza area, to defeat the will of our people there and force them to take the magnetic identity cards as a means of pressure against the life bread of hundreds of thousands of our steadfast people... The population of Gaza is famous for exemplary valiance in fighting the occupation. These days,

with mass resistance and strong determination to undermine the attempt to force them to carry the Nazi-like documents, they are adding a new order of honor to their credit, to be pinned on the chests of the heroic workers of Gaza. We salute our militant people in Gaza- continue your glorious deeds! Let the enemy realize once again that we are capable of defeating it in this battle. Let them see that the will of the people is much stronger than all the pressure applied.

To the militant masses:

The intensification of Zionist repression against the heroic guards of the intifada has culminated in the orders to shoot the masked militants of our people, increased casualties, raids and detentions. This campaign cannot frighten our people who are determined to preserve their dignity. The flames of the intifada shall rise higher and higher. Our determination to get rid of the occupation shall be even stronger. In line with this, the following is necessary:

- Complete the formation of popular and specialized committees; develop them in all areas with the involvement of all anti- occupation forces and patriotic figures, as well as representatives from all social bodies and institutions.
- Cast off internal differences of whatever kind, especially those stemming from family or leadership rivalries. Avoid plunging the people into disputes which serve only the interests of the enemy, and which permit collaborators to undermine unity. We denounce the irresponsible practices of some infiltrators and collaborators in the cities of Hebron, Jerusalem and Gaza, where women and girls were attacked with the aim of disrupting unity, under the guise of defending religion. We appreciate Hamas' condemnation of those acts...
- The occupation authorities decided to reopen the schools as an unavoidable result of the persistence of the intifada which gathers increasing international sympathy for its confrontation of the enemy's policy of enforcing ignorance

against our people for more than two years in particular. We call on both students and teachers to condense the curricula to make up for what has been lost. Students should be especially careful about the curricula, to continue confronting intentional obscurantism; they should also observe the general strike days. We call on all to continue the popular education programs to make up for gaps in the regular schooling. All international humanitarian and academic institutions are asked to pressure the occupation authorities, to oblige them to reopen the universities and higher institutes.

Be more vigilant towards the enemy attempt to sow the seeds of discord in the national camp with acts against national figures of different political orientations. Recently, the enemy and collaborators burned a number of cars belonging to nationalist figures. They have thrown firebombs at houses, and distributed false leaflets defaming certain patriots.

- We call on the ICRC and all international humanitarian and juridical bodies to pressure the enemy authorities to force them to comply with the international conventions concerning the rights of the prisoners of war and detainees, and to improve their deplorable conditions of the detainees, especially in Megiddo and Ansar III.
- We call on the steadfast merchants to assist the peasants as much as possible... Open the markets of the State of Palestine to the products of our Syrian brothers in the Golan Heights, meanwhile closing them to Israeli products.
- We view positively the position of Hamas to consider the 9th day of each month a general strike day on the occasion of the beginning of the intifada. We call for further cooperation and unity in deciding militant activities and general strikes.
- We condemn the practice of the judicial authorities who have converted the military courts into bodies of absurdity, obliging all lawyers to refrain from attending procedures for

a month. All judicial bodies in the world are requested to pressure the military authorities to oblige them to respond positively to the lawyers' just demands.

We salute the people of Palestine in exile. They are asked to continue to support the intifada by all means and on all levels- political, informational and material. All the concerned bodies of the PLO are requested to increase support to the intifada to guarantee its momentum...

- We strongly reject the idea of having contact with Israeli government officials. We confirm that none of the committed national figures has met any such officials. We warn against accepting to hold secret meetings under pressure. Those who have been deceived or pressured into such meetings should immediately inform the public about the essence of the meeting.
- We stress the importance of continuing to pursue collaborators in order to deter them. The strike forces and popular committees should deliberate their judgements patiently and refrain from issuing death sentences unless there is evident collaboration and proven treason, and authorization by higher authorities.

To the masses of the heroic intifada:

We call on you to comply with the following activities:

- July 26th and 27th are days of escalated militancy and confrontation of the settlers' destruction of the crops of our people...
- July 29th is a day of solidarity with women detainees. Organize mass sit-ins in Red Cross offices. Issue petitions for the improvement of their conditions of detention.
- July 30th is a day of general strike in solidarity with the steadfast people and heroic workers of Gaza.
- August 1st and 2nd are days of mutual social responsibility. Visit the wounded in all areas.
- The days of Fatah's 5th congress are to be days of distinc-

tive escalated struggle to shake the ground under the feet of the invaders.
- August 9th is a general strike day on the occasion of the 21st month of the intifada.
- August 10th is a day for Palestinian information activities. Symposia and press conferences should be held to expose the policies of muzzling our people.
- August 13th and 14th are days of escalated confrontation against the occupation troops and settler gangs in all the streets of our beloved homeland.

Glory and immortality to our blessed martyrs!

Call No. 44
Greetings to the Fatah Congress
August 15, 1989

To the heroic masses:

It is the 21st month of your valiant intifada. You are holding its bright torch high, confirming to the world that no force can halt your march towards victory. You have already won the battle of challenge, the battle of who tires first. You have proved that the intifada has its own inexhaustible driving force - the force of faith in victory, of moral firmness and human dignity, the invincible force of a people determined to achieve freedom and honor. You have won the battle of confronting the sophisticated Zionist repressive machine. You are certainly entitled to win the current political battle in which we are engaged, to defeat the hated «election» project, which the US has approved in order to avoid the commitment of openly recognizing our right to return from exile to our homeland, to establish our independent state like other peoples all over the world. This project is accompanied by intensified repression - administrative detention for a whole year, the policies of starvation and humiliation imposed via the magnetic identity cards in Gaza and then in the West Bank. The enemy has announced that the policy of controlling the workers, on their way to earn their living, is to begin on August 18th. Some will be allowed to go to work, while others will be prevented from doing so, i.e., left to starve. This has the aim of sowing discord and hostility among the people who are one. This is a policy of starvation imposed on the people at large, although it takes the form of depriving some of their right to work and to survive. In essence, these policies are doomed to fail, for they cannot sever the people from the popular committees, or Gaza from the Bank. They ignore the fact that the persistence of the intifada is based on the

support of the whole people, including all classes, strata, etc., and on their absolute readiness to sacrifice everything for the intifada.

The heroic people of Gaza fight this battle in defense of the people as a whole. If this policy proves successful in Gaza, it will soon be applied in the Bank. The heroic workers in the Palestinian West Bank will resist the divide-and-rule policy, the policy of devouring the people piece by piece. Let us fight together against the magnetic cards, for the unconditional right of all workers to move freely and to work. The workers of the West Bank should not replace their brothers from Gaza as long as they are on strike. This is a battle over the very means of subsistence, a battle of steadfastness and confrontation until the hated spectre of occupation disappears from our beloved homeland. The workers will not be left alone in the battle against the racist occupation forces.

To the heroic masses:

Greetings to our brothers in Fatah. Congratulations on the great achievements of your congress,..

In the political battle to abort the intifada, the enemy tries to promote its scheme based on the illusion of finding an alternative to the historical leadership of our people, i.e. the PLO. The enemy holds meetings with those it chooses, to discuss the «election» project. This is a signal to the world, and the US in particular, not to hasten to recognize the PLO, since there is a weak, alternative leadership available. We condemn and warn against such meetings. We announce the national decision to reject all contacts with any Israeli party, official or otherwise, who does not support total, unconditional withdrawal from the occupied territories, and recognize our rights to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state. We declare that anyone who tries to disobey this decision will put himself outside the patriotic ranks.

To the militant masses of our people:

Our enemy knows only the language of force, and our struggle will continue until victory, thanks to your determination. Intensify your efforts to smash the organs of civil administration! Escalate the confrontation against prominent traitors! Persecute the collaborators whom the enemy is organizing into armed militias to encroach on honest citizens! Upgrade your use of stones and knives! Let the land be turned into hell under the feet of the occupation troops, border guards, settler gangs and collaborators. The only language the enemy understands is that of force, suffering, continuous losses.

To the steadfast masses of our people:

Considering the consolidation and escalation of the intifada as the sole means of its continuation until its goals are achieved, we call on you to work according to the following guidelines:

- The intifada provides the opportunity for rectifying and consolidating the structure of all the national institutions, at home and in exile, as required by the needs of the intifada.
- The PLO should increase its support to our militant people. This support should be directed towards the poor who constitute the base and the energy of the intifada.
- There should be more mutual responsibility and solidarity funds established in the various areas. Consumption should be limited and rent problems solved on a basis of understanding, in view of the devaluation of the dinar.
- We highly appreciate the united militant initiatives which constitute the solid base for national unity. Avoid internal differences which have a negative effect on the united struggle against the enemy. All are asked to standardize slogans and sign them in the name of the United National Leadership. This does not rule out special slogans.
- Be vigilant against the false statements which are circulated by the Israeli intelligence and media, like the recent

«statement» which accuses Palestinian militants of embezzling money. Sometimes false slogans are written on the walls, which serve only the Zionist enemy and its collaborators.

- The unity of all the nationalist organizations is an absolute necessity. All difficulties and differences should be overcome through the usual channels and the higher authorities (of the intifada).

- We warn against traitors, fifth column elements and those who spread false rumors...We have full confidence in the masses' high standards.

- Detainees, especially in Megiddo prison, are called upon to unite and comply with the directives of the specialized committees (in the prisons). These committees should be formed on the basis of proportional representation and representation of all forces.

- No collaborators should be liquidated without a central decision by the supreme leadership, and national consensus, or before advance warning to repent.

- Students should observe the general strike days which maintain their significance. Teachers and students should find suitable means of compensating (for the school time lost).

- There are contracts with Hamas for the sake of the national interests. All issues related to achieving the intifada's objectives will be dealt with.

- Make the strike days be days of escalated militancy and various nationalist activities.

To the brave masses:

We call on you to carry out the following militant activities:

- August 16th is a general strike day on the occasion of the Ansar III massacre, in solidarity with all the detainees. The detention camps should be abolished.

- August 18th - 25th, West Bank workers with jobs in Zionist firms are to strike in solidarity with the Gaza work-

ers, protesting **the magnetic identity** cards. Replacing striking workers is high national treason.
- August 21st is a general strike day on the anniversary of the arson attack against Al Aqsa mosque.
- August 28th is an information day for symposia and press conferences to expose the policies of the occupation authorities and the consequences of their repressive deeds.
- September 1st is a day of popular education, to make up for the August 21st general strike, and resist the policy of enforced ignorance.
- September 2nd and 4th are days of escalated militancy. Throw stones at the enemy troops, settlers and collaborators. Escalate nationalist activities against the occupation forces.

Call No. 45
The Call of September and Martyrdom
September 5, 1989

To the heroic masses of our people, the people of martyrdom and victory:

Greetings to you who are scoring gains through persistent struggle for your sacred rights to freedom, independence and life with dignity, as other peoples enjoy. Greetings to the heroic people who are confronting the ever-increasing Israeli determination with equally increased determination to continue the struggle for complete elimination of the occupation. Special greetings to the militant workers and their families in heroic Gaza, who have undergone the third month of steadily confronting repression and hunger. Greetings to our heroes whom the enemy is pursuing in the mountains and valleys of Palestine, intending to murder them in a fascist way.

To the militant masses - to the mothers, wives and children of the martyrs and detainees, to the elderly, the heroic workers, patriotic merchants and all those who are taking part in building the edifice of glory, dignity and pride:

We identify with all of you - with every detainee, martyr and militant, with every youth who has raised his hand to defend the honor of his homeland and nation, with the militant program of the intifada. We confirm that the secret of your strength lies in your unity and mutual solidarity, and in remaining allied in the same trench, directing all the fire of your struggle against the occupation forces, for the single goal of independence.

It being the solid base of your persistent struggle, your unity is now the main target of the occupation authorities who are desperately trying to undermine it. The occupiers

are doomed to fail no matter what sophisticated and fascist methods they may resort to for quenching the fire of the intifada. Nevertheless, they have launched a broad campaign for that purpose, spreading rumors, manipulating personal and family differences, soiling the reputation of a great number of persons throughout the occupied homeland. Thus, the enemy hopes to sow the seeds of frustration and dicord among you, in order to divert you from your essential task and sacred goal. In the process, they hope the intifada will begin to collapse from within, after Israel has failed to destroy it from without.

To the masses of the glorious intifada:

Whatever they do, the plan of the enemy authorities is doomed to fail, despite the highly sophisticated equipment provided to Mordechai. This plan will fail, God willing, due to your continuous vigilance against their attempts to sow discord in your ranks. It will fail due to the rational orientation of the intifada and its having opened fire on all the key positions of the enemy. Continue escalating the tempo of your struggle against the occupation, inventing new methods of militant disobedience, consolidating unity and making constructive efforts to set up popular committees and mass institutions, including guarding committees for defense against the repressive attacks of the enemy on our villages, and the mean attempts to hunt down our militants and murder them on the spot.

Let the call of September be the call for unity and closing ranks. Concentrating all efforts on establishing organs and committees of unity. Let stones and slingshots be the principal method among your numerous means of struggle, which succeeded in defeating the most advanced technologies of repression!

To the heroic masses:

We are now advancing towards a new political reality

imposed by your struggle - the declared State of Palestine, calling for a just peace. However, we are faced with US retrogression in the dialogue with the PLO. The US is showing obstinacy about providing ways of activating the peace process. The US attitude raises serious questions among our people, about the benefit and objective of this dialogue. We denounce the insane practices of the US against the membership of Palestine in the international organizations. To overcome these temporary obstacles, we have no choice but to step up the intifada - the sole path to freedom and independence. Based on the long-term strategy of the PLO, we stress the following points in order to advance in this direction:

First, concerning collaborators: We reconfirm that all strike force militants and popular committee members should maintain strict discipline, to prevent any disorder that the enemy might exploit on the practical or media level. Patient scrutiny and sober examination are required before issuing hasty accusations. The highest authorities (of the intifada) should be notified in full before judgements are passed or warning letters sent. Allow enough time and try to reform (the person suspected of collaboration) as the first priority before applying punishment.

Second, on contact with Israelis: We reiterate the necessity of severing all voluntary political contacts with Israeli government officials. At the same time, we acknowledge that the Israeli public is a legitimate arena for the activities and program of the intifada. It is extremely important to carry out intensive propaganda work, approved by the United National Leadership, aimed at expanding support to our just struggle against the occupation, and increasing the number of those who recognize our right to self-determination and the legitimacy of the PLO's representation...This constitutes an integral part of our overall struggle for establishing our independent state, as stated in the resolutions of the PNC in Algeria.

Third, on education: Promoting education is an essential part of our struggle. We therefore call on all students to concentrate fully, make good use of study hours and differentiate this aspect of their struggle from the other mili tant tasks they are carrying out after school, outside the school grounds. This is important to prevent the enemy from closing schools to continue their policy of enforcing ignorance on our people. Strikes should be limited to the officially decided general strike days. Spontaneous calls to strikes here and there should not be heeded.

Fourth, on united popular committees: We call on all to take immediate action, based on revolutionary democratic principles, to unite people from all different organizations within the framework of the strike forces. Factionalism and differences may help the enemy to achieve its hostile goals. Any statement signed by other than the United National Leadership should be stopped in order to eliminate the enemy's possibility of issuing false statements aimed at creating confusion and doubts among the citizens.

Fifth, the boycott of enemy organs and products: We salute the heroic revolutionaries of Gaza, who rejected the magnetic cards, as well as the people who are struggling and sacrificing and continuing to boycott the offices, products and taxes of the enemy. We reiterate our call to continue militant disobedience and the boycott of all enemy products as circumstances allow. In this context, we call on those working in the civil administration to resign, except for those who are working in the health and education services. Those working in the tax offices should be boycotted and persecuted.

Sixth: The masses of our militant people are called upon to comply with the general strike days without violations; avoid picnics and excursions on such days.

Seventh: The masses are requested not to bring taxable presents across the bridges (from Jordan), to prevent the

enemy from imposing heavy customs duties on these items to support its economy.

Eighth: The UNRWA administration is urged to be fair with its employees, and to treat them as their colleagues in Gaza are treated. At the same time, UNRWA employees should remain patient before taking any action that might harm students or others who benefit from the UNRWA services. This matter should be referred to us to be studied and decided upon.

To the heroic masses:

The anniversaries of the Black September (Jordan 1970) and Sabra-Shatila massacres are approaching, bringing tears to the eyes of our people. These are tears of wrath, but at the same time, tears of hope and self-confidence. This month of massacres should be designated for the memory of the martyrs who have fallen on the path of the long struggle for liberation and national independence. Saluting your spirit of steadfastness and selfless sacrifice, we call on you to carry out the following activities:

1. September 9th is a day of general strike on the occasion of the 22nd month of the intifada.
2. September 12th is the birthday of the prophet Mohammed. On this great occasion, we congratulate our militant masses and call on them to commemorate this holy day with increased confrontation of the occupation forces and settler gangs.
3. September 15th begins winter time.
4. September 13th-16th are the days preceding the anniversary of the horrible massacre of Sabra and Shatila. These days should be devoted to mobilization and preparation for this anniversary. The strike forces, popular committees and all militant forces should remain alert and ready.
5. September 17th-19th are days of rage for commemorating the many martyrs. Black banners should be raised over houses, buildings, posts, etc., covering all the squares.

Palestinian flags should also be raised, and marches organized all over our occupied state. Confrontations should be intensified. Rupture the ground under the feet of the occupation.

6. September 17th, at 10 a.m., all movements should stop all over our occupied state for one minute. Transportation should halt...Students and teachers should stand in silence...revering the memory of the martyrs, victims of these massacres. Then, the anthem of Palestine should be sung.

7. September 18th is a general strike day in solidarity with heroic workers of Gaza. All workers' movements are called on to support our workers in their struggle against racism and repression.

8. September 22nd is a general strike day in solidarity with the heroic detainees in the prisons and camps of the occupation.

9. September 23rd and 24th are days of confrontation, activities and collective self-reliance. Hand-in-hand, shoulder-to-shoulder, let us remain together on the path of the glorious intifada until the day of victory.

Call No. 46
The Call of Adherence to the PLO
September 19, 1989

To the masses of our heroic people,
To the valiant masses of the intifada,
To you who have astounded the world with your capacity for sacrifice and endurance:

You are nearing the end of the second year of the glorious popular intifada- maintaining your determination to accept nothing less than total freedom in an independent state. The enemy and their collaborators have intensified repression against the militant masses, in addition to political and diplomatic schemes and tricks. Yet the intifada continues to rise ever higher and stronger. Our masses are adhering ever more firmly to the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of our people wherever they may be.This position blocks all attempts of the occupation forces and their supporters to create alternative leaderships or partners for the PLO in negotiations about the election farce proposed by the enemy.

To the heroic masses:

The current conditions of the Palestinian cause and intifada require that we all remain extremely vigilant about all the activities and moves related to the destiny of our cause and the continuation of the intifada. At the very time when the enemy was showing signs of confusion and increasing repression against the masses, especially the children, the president of Egypt offered some procedural proposals to move Shamir's plan forward. The proposals took the form of points related to the Israeli election plan as a basis for political moves. Consequently, the proposals were unbalanced; they were void of any reference to the PLO as a participant in the political settlement in the region; nor was

there any clear reference to the necessity of establishing the independent State of Palestine as the ultimate outcome of the negotiations process which must be via an international peace conference attended by all parties to the conflict. Moreover, the ten points referred to the formation of a Palestinian delegation and the identity of its members. Nobody except the PLO has the right to decide such matters. Therefore, we confirm that our people's right to self-determination is the core of building peace in the region. Unless this right is taken as the main basis, there will be no hope for a just peace in the area.

To the masses of our militant people:

You have already rejected all kinds of mandate, patronage and interference which might divert your struggle from its designated goal. You, better than all others, know our people's interests and issues. You are therefore called upon to undermine the efforts to compromise the PLO's representation of our militant people, for these threaten our people's right to take part in the process of achieving the desired political settlement and just peace. There is no way of accepting the ten points (proposed by Mubarak), unless they explicitly include the necessity of the PLO participating in the political process on an equal footing with all other concerned parties, and unless they define the ultimate goal of the political process in a way that corresponds to our people's legitimate demands, and their right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent national state.

To the valiant masses of the intifada:

The occupation authorities continue the war of starvation against our militant masses in steadfast Gaza. They persist in imposing the magnetic identity cards on the heroic workers who want to work. Most of the workers refuse to yield to such measures; they are challenging repression and ter-

ror, risking the loss of their families' means of subsistence. We state the following in order to guarantee the continuation and escalation of the glorious intifada, to support our heroic people in Gaza, and to remain loyal to the sacrifices of our militant people throughout our occupied State of Palestine, especially in Nablus and the surrounding camps, the camp of Tulkarm and all other camps and villages which are suffering from the intensified repression and... long curfews:

1- We commend UNRWA on its services and call on it to increase its efforts to support the steadfastness of our people in heroic Gaza, and to extend its activities to include all the victims of the occupation authorities' measures.
2- A broad campaign should be organized to make food and medicine available to our people in Gaza.
3- The United Workers' Council is called upon to support the position of the workers of Gaza, concerning the magnetic cards. International labor federations are called upon to intervene and protest the practices of the occupation forces against our workers in the Strip.
4- The workers should continue their sit-in in front of the headquarters of the internatinal missions and institutions in Gaza.
5- Owners of factories, firms and big farms are called on to employ the largest possible number of the unemployed workers in the Strip.
6- West Bank workers should support their brothers in the Strip by refusing to take their places, in order to pressure the occupation authorities to retract their racist measures.
7- We warn against the irresponsible acts of some reckless people, especially entering the schools during study hours to stop the classes and force the students to come outside. The strike forces should stop such acts.
8- Persecution of collaborators to stop their harmful activities should continue on a gradual basis, without resort-

ing to execution unless there is national consensus and approval from the higher authorities.
9- Support national industry and boycott all Israeli commodities.
10- The concerned Palestinian organizations should support the agricultural sector immediately, to enable our farmers to continue their contribution to preserving the economic base of the State of Palestine.
11- We salute the militants in the Zionist prisons and detention camps. They should achieve the highest possible degree of unity of action, in accordance with the principles for united national work and mutual respect; this applies especially to Megiddo detention camp.

To the masses of the heroic intifada:

We call on you to carry out the following activities:
- September 20th-26th are days of escalation and confrontation against the occupation forces.
- September 28th is the day of Gamel Abdul Nasser's death. On this occasion, we salute the Egyptian people, and demand that the Egyptian regime shoulder its Arab national responsibility concerning Palestine, by complying with the common Arab resolutions and supporting the PLO's position.
- September 30th is a general strike day to protest the US's biased stand favoring Israel, as well as its procrastination in dealing with the rights of our people.
- October 1st and 2nd are days of social solidarity. The wounded should be visited, as well as the families of martyrs and detainees.
- October 3rd is a day to protest the murder of our children. Two minutes silence should be observed all over Palestine at 10 o'clock sharp. Prayers should be said, each according to his or her faith.
- October 6th is a day for raising the Palestinian flag all over Palestine, commemorating the October War.

- October 9th is a general strike day on the occasion of the intifada entering its 23rd month.
- October 12th is Olive Day. All should go to the groves to help the farmers harvest the olives.
- October 13th is prophet Mohammad's birthday. We congratulate the people of Palestine and all Muslims on this occasion.
- October 14th is the anniversary of the Qibya massacre (1953). The flag of Palestine should be raised throughout.

Together on the path of sacrifice and struggle.
Victory is inevitable.

Call No. 47

October 15, 1989

To our masses of the heroic intifada:
To those who added, through their steadfastness and revolutionary initiative, a new page in the history of our people's struggle, and in that of other nations as well:

The intifada is marching onwards to achieve liberation and national independence, determined to overcome all obstacles resulting from the increasing Zionist, fascist, repressive measures, and from the Israeli-US obstinacy which aims to implement the Shamir plan and the ill-fated Camp David scheme.

The determination of our people is based on our just cause and the heroic steadfastness of our masses throughout the past 22 months of the intifada, despite all the new techniques of repression invented by the Zionist generals and their military institutions. Our people have invented their own means for confronting these repressive measures: the orders to shoot live ammunition at any Palestinian wearing a *Kuffia* (Palestinian scarf); besieging camps, towns and cities; the use of helicopters in the war against the intifada; and the Nazi-like practices such as the enforcement of the magnetic identification cards, closure of camps, towns and cities, confiscation of properties in Beit Sahour and elsewhere. During the fierce confrontations, our masses have manifested heroic steadfastness in Nablus, Jenin, Beit Sahour and Rafah camp, and raised the same slogans throughout these districts.

The UNL salutes the masses on the occasion of the intifada entering its 23rd month. We call on the masses to be alert to the various attempts aimed at splitting their ranks and diverting them from achieving the goals of the national struggle. We concurrently confirm the invariable position of the UNL and PLO which reject the Shamir plan, the attempts at reviving the Camp David agreements, and the

dubious US role represented by the five-point plan of James Baker. We also confirm that all sectors of our people are united behind the Palestinian peace initiative, adopted at the last PNC session, and the Executive Committee of the PLO, which is the elected body authorized to implement this initiative, and consequently the only body authorized to form a Palestinian delegation. Furthermore, the UNL confirms its rejection of any attempt to revive or beautify the Shamir plan in any shape or form, including the five-point plan of James Baker.

Moreover, the UNL calls on the Arab states and particularly Egypt, to abide firmly by the resolutions of their last summit: to adopt the Palestinian peace initiative, to launch a large-scale campaign in solidarity with the intifada, and to exert pressure on the US administration to work for the convening of an international peace conference which enjoys world-wide support. Doing otherwise will only forestall the Palestinian initiative, and encourage the US administration's obstinacy against the achievement of any of our people's legitimate goals. It is the duty of the Arab states, as an expression of solidarity with the intifada, to stop the ongoing efforts to market Shamir's plan, and to coerce both the US and Israel to accept the Palestinian peace initiative, because the Palestinian people are determined to confront Shamir's liquidationist plan.

To our heroic masses:

Many meetings are being held in order to formulate a scheme for negotiations which would exclude the PLO. We therefore confirm that the intifada and our masses, including all sectors, committees and forces, resolutely adhere to the following, and call on all of the various committees of the intifada, as well as the strike forces, to incorporate the following points in all of their activities and slogans:

(1) No to negotiations outside the framework of an international peace conference that is based on fulfilling our

people's national rights to self-determination and establishing the independent Palestinian state.
(2) No to Shamir's plan and to all efforts aimed at reviving or beautifying it.
(3) The dubious role of the US administration and its attempts at resurrecting the Camp David agreements must stop. Pressure should be applied on the US administration to accept the convening of an international peace conference.

While stressing the decisiveness of the current political stage and the enemies' efforts to divide our ranks, we are confident of the masses' capacity to foil these schemes and to stand more united than ever, so that our people's sacrifices and suffering for their just cause will not be in vain.

To our masses:

The UNL stresses the necessity of reinvigorating our national institutions and unions; since the legal term of the administrative bodies of these institutions and unions has ended, new administrative bodies should be formed on the following basis:
(1) competence, and the ability to reinvigorate the program of struggle;
(2) bearing in mind the issue of national unity;
(3) the membership in these bodies must be allocated on the basis of representation of the various forces as in the previous elections, giving top priority to national unity.
(4) while carrying out these directives, the constitutions and bylaws of the institutions and unions must be accomodated.

To our steadfast masses:

The UNL salutes the steadfastness of our masses in Nablus, Gaza, heroic Beit Sahour and other areas. We call on our masses to abide by the following program of struggle:
1.October 21st-29th are days of general strike to express our rejection of all conspiratorial schemes, and to reassert our commitment to the Palestinian peace initiative.

2.October 15th-17th are days of intensified demonstrations throughout the occupied territories in solidarity with the detainees and the besieged areas. We call upon the world to protest against the escalating Zionist repression.
3.October 19th is a day of demonstrations and sit-ins in solidarity with the steadfast people of Gaza.
4.November 2nd is a day of mass rage, and rejection of the imperialist conspiracies against our people on the occasion of the ill-fated Balfour Declaration.
5. November 9th is a day of general strike on the occasion of the intifada entering its 24th month.

The UNL calls on our masses to convert the days of mourning for the martyrs into days of rage, demonstrations and escalated confrontations with the occupation forces, affirming the observance of mourning while maintaining the work of vital institutions. As for the students, they must comply only with the days of general strike declared by the UNL in its official calls.

Victory is inevitable.

The Declaration of Independence

Palestine, the land of the three monotheistic faiths, is where the Palestinian Arab people was born, on which it grew, developed and excelled. The Palestinian Arab people was never separated from or diminished in its integral bonds with Palestine. Thus, the Palestinian Arab people ensured for itself an everlasting union between itself, its land and its history.

Resolute throughout that history, the Palestinian Arab people forged its national identity, rising even to unimagined levels in its defense, as invasion, the design of others and the appeal special to Palestine's ancient and luminous place on that eminence where powers and civilizations are joined... all this intervend thereby to deprive the people of its political independence. Yet the undying connection between Palestine and its people secured for the land its character, and for the people its national genius.

Nourished by an unfolding series of civilizations and cultures, inspired by a heritage rich in variety and kind, the Palestinian Arab people added to its stature by consolidating a union between itself and its patrimonial land. The call went out from the temple, church and mosque that to praise the creator, to celebrate compassion and peace was indeed the message of Palestine. And in generation after generation, the Palestinian Arab people gave of itself unsparingly in the valiant battle for liberation and homeland. For what has been the unbroken chain of our people's rebellions but the heroic embodiment of our will for national independence? And so the people was sustained in the struggle to stay and to prevail.

When in the course of modern times a new order of values was declared with norms and values fair for all, it was the Palestinian Arab people that had been excluded from the destiny of all other peoples by a hostile array of local

and foreign powers. Yet again had unaided justice been revealed as insufficient to drive the world's history along its preferred course.

And it was the Palestinian people, already wounded in its body, that was submitted to yet another type of occupation over which floated the falsehood that «Palestine was a land without people». This notion was foisted upon some in the world, whereas in article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations (1919) and in the treaty of Lausanne (1923), the community of nations had recognized that all the Arab territories, including Palestine, of the formerly Ottoman provinces, were to have granted to them their freedom as provisionally independent nations.

Despite the historical injustice inflicted on the Palestinian Arab people, resulting in their dispersion and depriving them of their right to self-determination, following upon UN General Assembly resolution 181 (1947), which partitioned Palestine into two states, one Arab, one Jewish, yet it is this resolution that still provides those conditions of international legitimacy that ensure the right of the Palestinian Arab people to sovereignty and national independence.

By stages, the occupation of Palestine and parts of other Arab territories by Israeli forces, the willed dispossession and expulsion from their ancestral homes of the majority of Palestine's civilian inhabitants was achieved by organized terror: Those Palestinians who remained, as a vestige subjugated in its homeland, were persecuted and forced to endure the destruction of their national life.

Thus were principles of international legitimacy violated; thus were the Charter of the United Nations and its resolution disfigured, for they had recognized the Palestinian Arab people's national rights, including the right of return, the right to independence, the right to sovereignty over territory and homeland.

In Palestine and on its perimeters, in exile distant and near, the Palestinian Arab people never faltered and never

abandoned its conviction in its right of return and independence. Occupation, massacres and dispersion achieved no gain in the unabated Palestinian consciousness of self and political identity, as Palestinians went forward with their destiny, undeterred and unbowed. And from out of the long years of trial in evermounting struggle, the Palestinian political identity emerged further consolidated and confirmed. And the collective Palestinian national will forged for itself a political embodiment, the Palestine Liberation Organization, its sole legitimate representative, recognized by the world community as a whole, as well as by related regional and international institutions. Standing on the very rock of conviction in the Palestinian people's inalienable rights, and on the grounds of Arab national consensus, and of international legitimacy, the PLO led the campaigns of its people, molded into unity and powerful resolve, one and indivisible in its triumphs, even as it suffered massacres and confinement within and without its home. And so Palestinian resistance was clarified and raised into the forefront of Arab and world awareness, as the struggle of the Palestinian Arab people achieved unique prominence among the world's liberation movements in the modern era.

The massive national uprising, the «intifada», now intensifying in cumulative scope and power on occupied Palestinian territories, as well as the unflinching resistance of the refugee camps outside the homeland, have elevated consciousness of the Palestinian truth and right into still higher realms of comprehension and actuality. Now, at last, the curtain has been dropped around a whole epoch of prevarication and negation. The intifada has set siege to the mind of official Israel, which has for too long relied exclusively upon myth and terror to deny Palestinian existence altogether. Because of the intifada and its revolutionary irreversible impulse, the history of Palestine has therefore arrived at a decisive juncture.

Whereas the Palestinian people reaffirms most definitely its inalienable rights in the land of its patrimony:

- now by virtue of national rights, and the exercise of those historical and legal rights and the sacrifices of successive generations who gave themselves in defense of the freedom, and independence of their homeland;
-in pursuance of resolutions adopted by Arab summit conferences and relying on the authority bestowed by international legitimacy as embodied in the resolutions of the United Nations since 1947;
- and in exercise by the Palestinian Arab people of its rights to self-determination, political independence and sovereignty over its territory;
- the Palestine National Council, in the name of God, and in the name of the Palestinian Arab people, hereby proclaims the establishment of the State of Palestine on our Palestinian territory with its capital, Jerusalem (Al Quds Ash Sharif).

The State of Palestine is the state of the Palestinians wherever they may be. The state is for them to enjoy in their collective national and cultural identity, theirs to pursue in it a complete equality of rights. In it will be safeguarded their political and religious convictions and their human dignity by means of a parliamentary democratic system of governance, itself based on freedom of expression and the freedom to form parties. The rights of minorities will duly be respected by the majority, as minorities must abide by decisions of the majority. Governance will be based on principles of social justice, equality and non-discrimination in public rights, men or women, on grounds of race, religion, color or sex, under the aegis of a constitution which ensures the rule of law and an independent judiciary. Thus shall these principles allow no departure from Palestine's age-old spiritual and civilizational heritage of tolerance and religious co-existence.

The State of Palestine is an Arab state, an integral and indivisible part of the Arab nation, at one with that nation in heritage and civilization, with it also in its aspiration for

liberation, progress, democracy and unity. The State of Palestine affirms its obligation to abide by the Charter of the League of Arab States, whereby the coordination of the Arab states with each other shall be strengthened. It calls upon Arab compatriots to consolidate and enhance the emergence in reality of our state, to mobilize potentials and to intensify efforts whose goal is to end Israeli occupation.

The State of Palestine proclaims its commitment to the principles and purpose of the United Nations, and to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It proclaims its commitment as well to the principles and policies of the Nonaligned Movement.

It further announces itself to be a peace-loving state, in adherence to the principles of peaceful co-existence. It will join with all states and peoples in order to assure a permanent peace based upon justice and the respect of rights so that humanity's potential for well-being may be assured, an earnest competition for exellence be maintained, and in which confidence in the future will eliminate fear for those who are just and for whom justice is the only recourse.

In the context of its struggle for peace in the land of love and peace, the State of Palestine calls upon the United Nations to bear special responsibility for the Palestinian Arab people and its homeland. It calls upon all peace- and freedom-loving peoples and states to assist it in attainment of its objectives, to provide it with security, to alleviate the tragedy of its people, and to help it terminate Israel's occupation of the Palestinian territories.

The State of Palestine therewith declares that it believes in the settlement of regional and international disputes by peaceful means, in accordance with the UN Charter and resolutions. Without prejudice to its natural right to defend its territorial integrity and independence, it therefore rejects the threat or use of force, violence and terrorism against its territorial integrity or political independence, as it also rejects their use against the territorial integrity of other states.

Therefore, on this day unlike all others, November 15, 1988, we stand at the threshold of a new dawn, in all honor and modesty we humbly bow to the sacred spirits of our fallen ones, Palestinian and Arab, by the purity of whose sacrifices for the homeland our sky has been illuminated and our land given life. Our hearts are lifted up and irradiated by the light emanating from the much blessed intifada, from those who have endured and fought the fight of the camps, of dispersion, of exile, from those who have borne the standard of freedom, our children, our aged, our youth, our prisoners, detainees and wounded, all those whose ties to our sacred soil are confirmed, in camp, village and town. We render special tribute to that brave Palestinian woman, guardian of sustenance and life, keeper of our people's perennial flame. To the souls of our sainted martyrs, to the whole of our Palestinian Arab people, to all free and honorable peoples everywhere, we pledge that our struggle shall be continued until the occupation ends, and the foundation of our sovereignty and independence shall be fortified accordingly.

Therefore, we call upon our great people to rally to the banner of Palestine, to cherish and defend it, so that it may forever be the symbol of our freedom and dignity in that homeland, which is a homeland for the free, now and always.

In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful.

Say: O God, master of the kingdom,
Thou givest the kingdom to whom thou wilt,
Thou seizest the kingdom from whom thou wilt,
Thou exaltest whom thou wilt,
And thou abasest whom thou wilt,
In thy hand is the good,
Thou art powerful over everything.

Calls 1 - 47 of the United National Leadership of the Uprising in the Occupied Territories/State of Palestine.

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